



THE HYMN "TE DEUM" AND ITS AUTHOR

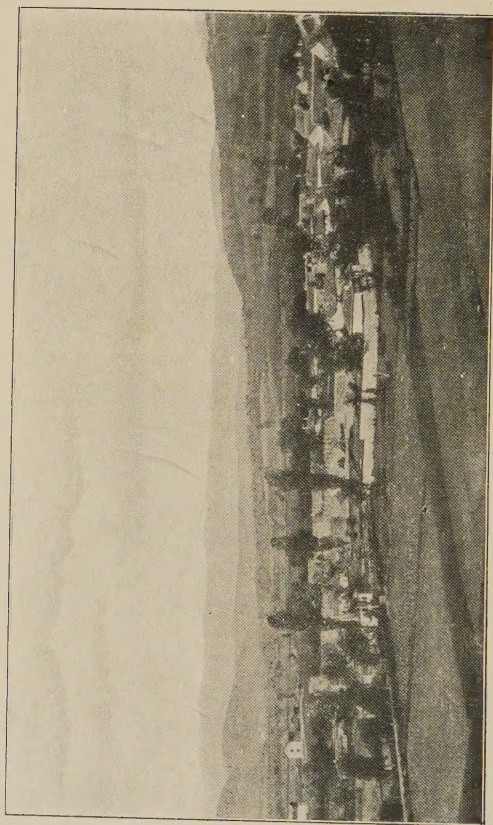
BY
A. E. BURN, D.D.,
Dean of Salisbury.

Everyone should read this notable contribution to liturgical study. *Te Deum* is the greatest of the Church's hymns and its history alone, in the hands of Dr. Burn, makes reading of enthralling interest. Moreover, his study of the text of the hymn, its construction, and theological plan, gives a new insight into its value as a foundation of devotion.



John W. H. Starnes

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REMESIANA. (*Béla Palanka.*)

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BY

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CONTENTS

Chap.		Page.
	PREFACE	ix.
I.	THE HYMN "TE DEUM"	1
II.	S. NICETA OF REMESIANA	22
III.	S. NICETA AS A TEACHER	38
IV.	PUBLIC WORSHIP IN THE FOURTH CENTURY	54
V.	ANCIENT PLAINSONG AND MODERN MUSIC	67

APPENDICES.

I.	QUOTATION FROM S. CYPRIAN SHOWING METRICAL PHRASES ALTERED IN THE "TE DEUM" TO RHYTHMICAL	81
II.	THE LATIN TEXT	82
III.	MSS. CONTAINING THE NAMES SISEBUT AND ABUNDIUS	84
IV.	S. NICETA'S PLACE IN THE CALENDAR	85
V.	TESTIMONY OF CASSIODORUS	86

PREFACE

THIS little book is an attempt to provide for English readers an account of the forgotten "Doctor" of the Church, S. Niceta of Remesiana, whose claim to the authorship of the *Te Deum* is now widely accepted. The brilliant article of Dom G. Morin, O.S.B., published in 1894 in the *Revue Bénédictine* has been supplemented by other writers or by the discovery of many new MSS. and much new material.

In 1905 it was my privilege to publish the *editio princeps* of S. Niceta's collected works. I desire to express my thanks to the Syndicate of the Cambridge University Press for their permission to quote freely from my Introduction in that book. Also for their most kind loan of the block for the view of Remesiana. In a short Bibliography I have noted the more important articles and dissertations which have been published on the subject. In particular I may mention a sympathetic study of Niceta as a Writer and Theologian, by Dr. W. A. Patin of Munich. A vastly improved edition of Niceta's treatises, *On Vigils* and *On the Good of Psalmody*, was published by Prof. C. H. Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, in 1925.

I am indebted to the Rev. T. W. Little and the Rev. M. Frost for help with my proofs. Mr. Frost is collecting photographs of all the important MSS. of the *Te Deum*, and I hope will some day give us an authoritative critical text. My thanks are also due to Mr. J. P. Gilson, Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, for a photograph of the Bosworth Psalter.

The subject is obscure, but my experience of preaching and lecturing on it is that there are very many people who find it as fascinating as I have done, and will welcome an attempt to popularise it, and thereby to assist them to sing with understanding one of the greatest hymns of the Church.

A. E. BURN.

*Feast of S. Niceta,
June 22nd, 1926.*

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CHAPTER I.

THE HYMN "TE DEUM."

THE romance of the History of the great hymn which we call *Te Deum* (*laudamus*), "We praise Thee, O God," has only recently become known.

The first definite reference to it is found in the Rule of Cæsarius of Arles, Abbot of a Monastery in Gaul, who became a famous Archbishop of Arles. He mentions it in a set of canticles to be sung at Mattins, after "Praise the Lord from the Heavens," and before *Gloria in Excelsis Deo et capitellum*¹ (Glory to God in the Highest and the little Chapter). We will come back to the meaning of the term "little chapter" presently.

A few years later Cyprian, Bishop of Toulon, in a letter to Maximus, Bishop of Geneva, which was written between 524 and 533, refers to it as a hymn which the whole Church has received and sings, and is in daily use in Toulon. He quotes verses 14, 15, 16, 20.

This letter is preserved in a most interesting MS. of the seventh century in the Chapter Library of Cologne Cathedral.² The strange thing is that the learned editor wrote: "This is a fragment of an unknown hymn." As Duchesne said wittily: "This proves that he not only never went to Church, but did not even possess a Prayer Book in his library."

Other possible quotations have been pointed out. Prof. Weymann called attention to the following lines in the *Apotheosis* of Prudentius, l. 1019, f:³

And what does Christ do, if He does not *take* me,
or whom

¹C. XXI.

²*Cod. Colon.* 212 (*Darmstad*, 2326). *Mon. Germaniac epp. ævi Merovingii*, t. iii., p. 434.

³*Rev. Bénéd.*, 1894, p. 338 and 1907, p. 12.

Does He *deliver* as weak if He disdains to approach
The burden of the flesh, and *shudders* at the
works of His own hands.

The three verbs take (*suscipere*), deliver (*liberare*) and shudder at (*horrere*) in this conjunction look like a reminiscence of verse 16. It is not improbable that Prudentius became acquainted with Niceta during his stay in Rome, 400—405.

S. Jerome on Ps. 88 writes: "Whom Cherubin and Seraphin without ceasing praise together . . . whom the whole earth worships."

A less probable quotation has been found in a treatise of Pacian of Barcelona who died before 392. Gruber⁴ suggests that his words "the sting of death having been trampled down"⁵ might be a reminiscence of verse 17. They are more probably, like Niceta's own phrase, an echo of S. Paul's words, 1 Cor. xv. 55. Gaudentius of Brescia has a parallel sentence: "the sting of death trampled on ascending the heavens as conqueror." Arnobius the younger has the phrase "white-robed army." His date is 450.

The following passage from the *Warning against Heresies* of Vincentius of Lerins has always seemed to me a possible quotation: "Blessed therefore and to be venerated, blessed and sacrosanct, and altogether to be compared with that highest praise of angels is the confession which glorifies the one Lord God with threefold hallowing." The words imply more than a mere reference to the *Sanctus*; they imply that it was set in a Confession of the Trinity, which was worthy to be called the Praise of Angels, and acknowledged one Lord God. One MS. of the *Te Deum* at Rouen, *Cod.* 227 (A 367) of the twelfth century has the title *Praise of angels*, and another at S. John's College, Cambridge, of the twelfth century has *Angelic Praise*. Since Paulinus of Nola corresponded with friends in

⁴Gruber, *Studien zu Pacianus von Barcelona*.

⁵C. XVI. *ad fin.*

Gaul there is no difficulty in assuming that the hymn may have been known at that date (c. 434) in Lerins.

All that we have a right to say so far is that the hymn was well known in Southern Gaul from the middle of the fifth century, and (on the testimony of Cyprian) that it was used throughout the Western Church. Cyprian could speak for Gaul and probably had in his mind the Churches in Italy and Africa.⁶

THE EARLIEST MSS.

We must now turn to the evidence of the Manuscripts. We have three that take us back to the seventh century, which demand attention.

1. The famous Vatican Psalter (*Cod. Vatic. Reg. 11*) came to the Vatican in the library of Queen Christina of Sweden. "She got it from the Petau family," writes Mr. Mearns, "and they apparently from the Benedictine Abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire. It was not, however, written at Fleury. . . . The internal evidence points clearly to some district in Southern France which at one time belonged to the Visigothian kingdom; and suggests that it may have been written at or near Arles, for use in the province of Narbonne (Septimania). Its probable date is c. 705, i.e., before the Moors invaded Spain in 710."⁷

The Psalter contains so-called Roman and Gallican Canticles followed by a Hymnary, the first hymn being *Te Deum*, with the title "Hymn to be said at Mattins on the Lord's Day." The text of the hymn in this MS. is puzzling. It has points of agreement with the Milanese text notably in the antiphons added to the original hymn. The details will come before us again, page 17.

⁶ *Libellus ad Greg. mart.*

⁷ Mearns refers to an article by Dom Wilmart, Rev. Bénédictine, 1911, p. 341, and to a letter from the Rev. H. M. Bannister, whose opinion was that the MS. was written in France c. 750, and not necessarily in the South-West of France.

2. A MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (*Cod. Ambros. c. 5, inf.*) which has also a title "A hymn on the Lord's Day," and a note, "This is the praise of the Holy Trinity which Saint Augustine and Saint Ambrose composed." This MS. is the famous Bangor Antiphonary written in the Monastery of Bangor in County Down, S. of Belfast Lough. Its date is the seventh century, between 680—691.

3. A MS. at Turin (*Cod. Turin. F. iv. 1*), also an Irish MS. was probably written by an Irish scribe in Italy. The *Te Deum* is without title and appears to have been sung at the end of Mass on Easter Day.

So we come very early upon the tradition, afterwards very widely spread, that the hymn was composed by S. Ambrose and S. Augustine on the occasion of S. Augustine's baptism. Apart from the difficulty of supposing that a hymn so closely reasoned could have been an extemporary utterance by two men speaking alternately, we know that S. Ambrose wrote his own hymns in metre, not in the kind of rhythmical prose used in the *Te Deum*.⁸ We also know that S. Ambrose introduced hymns from the East and a new style of singing. Many ancient legends have a kernel of truth in them and in this case we may well suppose that the kernel of truth is that the *Te Deum* was one of the new hymns imported from the East at that time.

Before we turn to other theories of authorship, let us look at the hymn itself. It is written in a kind of accented Latin prose which was called the *Cursus Leoninus*. This followed the elaborate metrical Latin prose in which S. Cyprian composed his treatise "On Mortality," a sentence from which inspired the thought of verses 7—9 of the *Te Deum*. The style of the metrical prose was too artificial to last. In common talk accent, the raising and lowering of the voice,

⁸ But a very good case can be made out for attributing to him the *Quicumque Vult* which is written in the same rhythm. See my review of Dr. Brewer's book on this subject. J.T.S., xxvii., p. 19.

obscured the distinction of sounds in the syllables. For metrical endings were substituted less elaborate but not less musical cadences regulated by accent. The name of Pope Leo was attached to this new style of rhythmical prose by later grammarians. It began to come into use in the fourth century and was probably imported from the East. It was used by many writers of the fifth century in Gaul and Italy, by Cassian, Salvian, Cæsarius, and Cassiodorus. It lasted on till the time of Dante.

Mr. John Shelly⁹ has pointed out the interesting fact that the ears of our Reformers were so tuned to the old rhythms in the Latin collects that they reproduced them in translation. The three usual forms were: (i.) *cursus planus*, reproduced in the rhythms *hélp* and *defénd* us, *mán's* understanding: (ii.) *cursus tardus*, *thém* that be *pénitent*, *hánd* of thy *májesty*: (iii.) *cursus velox*, *Ríse* to the life *immórtal*, *péople* which call *upón* thee, *lóse* not the things *immórtal*.

There is another form of the *planus* which corresponds to the fifth of the metrical endings used by S. Cyprian—*tērrā uēnerātur* as to Cicero's metrical *esse videatur*.¹⁰

Examples in the Prayer Book are "Written for our leárning," "ál things that may húrť us."

Dr. Meyer¹¹ points out that the *Te Deum* is written in long lines which are each divided into two. "Long lines like these, whose two parts on the one hand by a somewhat different construction give room for variety, and on the other hand sound harmonious because prolonged to an equal extent, are remarkably adapted to the human voice, and have, therefore, been introduced

⁹ *Church Quarterly Review*, lxxiv., p. 81. See also A. C. Clark, *The Cursus in Mediæval and Vulgar Latin*, Oxford, 1910; and *Prose Rhythm in English*, Oxford, 1913.

¹⁰ For Cicero's art see Clark, *The Cursus*, p. 6.

¹¹ *Das Turiner Bruchstück* (Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1903, Heft 2, p. 209).

everywhere for long poems consisting of equal lines." This accounts for the similarity of the epic poetry of all nations.

Following Dr. Meyer's suggestion, I wrote out the Latin text in long lines and I found that it fell into three stanzas each of four lines, each line beginning with "Thou," "Thee," or "To Thee," while each stanza was followed by a refrain in shorter lines, introduced by a key word, v. 4, "do cry," v. 10, "acknowledge," v. 20, "pray."

I will quote the Latin text in Appendix II., reference to which will at once prove that the original hymn ended with verse 21 as the rhythms stop at that point. Moreover, different Churches used different combinations of Psalm verses and prayers to form the conclusion as Antiphons, or to use the phrase of Cæsarius which we noted above the "Little Chapter." We are now concerned only with the original hymn, which in one Irish MS. appears without any Antiphons. I will quote here a revised translation and will explain the corrections.

II.

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

Antiphon found in the Irish Book of Hymns and in the Bangor Antiphonary—

Praise the Lord, ye servants, O praise the Name of the Lord (Ps. cxiii. 1).

STANZA I.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Thee we praise as God | Thee we acknowledge as
Lord, |
| 2. Thee eternal Father | all the earth doth worship, |
| 3. To Thee all angels | to Thee the heavens and all
the powers therein, |
| 4. To Thee Cherubin
and Seraphin | continually do cry aloud : |

5. *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts.*
6. *Heaven and earth are full of the glory of Thy majesty.*

STANZA II.

7. Thee the glorious company of the Apostles,
8. Thee the renowned regiment of the Prophets,
9. Thee the white-robed army of Martyrs praises,
10. Thee throughout the world the holy Church confesses :
11. *The Father of an infinite majesty,*
12. *Thy worshipful true only-begotten Son,*
13. *Also the Holy Ghost the Comforter.*

STANZA III.

14. 15. Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ, Thou art the eternal Son of the Father ;
16. When Thou tookest (*or* wast about to take) man upon Thee to deliver (him) Thou didst not shudder at the Virgin's womb.
17. Thou having conquered the sting of death didst open the kingdom of heaven to believers ;
18. 19. Thou sitting at the right hand of God, in the glory of the Father art believed to be about to come as Judge.
- 20a. *We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants*
- 20b. *Whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood,*
21. *Make them to be dowered with Thy Saints with glory everlasting.*

Little Chapter, Ps. xxviii. 10.

22. O Lord, save Thy people, and bless Thine heritage :
23. Govern them and lift them up for ever.

Little Chapter of Gloria, Ps. cxlv. 2.

24. Day by day we magnify Thee :
 25. And we worship Thy Name ever world without
 end.

Prayers.

26. Vouchsafe O Lord :
 To keep us this day without sin.
 27. O Lord, have mercy upon us :
 Have mercy upon us.
 28. O Lord, let Thy mercy lighten upon us :
 As our trust is in Thee.
 29. O Lord, in Thee have I trusted :
 Let me never be confounded.

The first two stanzas are addressed to God the Father. This is proved by the words in v. 12, "Thine only-begotten Son." All attempts to make out that the whole hymn is addressed to Christ as God break down. Apart from that, no reasonable explanation of the words in v. 2, "eternal Father" as addressed to Christ, can be found. The nearest parallel is the title given to Christ in Is. ix. 6 (in the Greek translation) "Father of eternity," but no Latin writer has translated this by "eternal Father."

The ancient hymn to Christ, "O Christ, King of heaven," which some think is moulded on the thought of the *Te Deum* has been quoted in this connection. But it has a line, "Thou Word of the eternal Father," which shows what the author's interpretation of the phrase really was. Mr. Frost points out that the parallels between that hymn and the Preface quoted by Dom Cagin (op. cit. p. 303) are closer both in phraseology and order than those between the hymn and the *Te Deum*. Bishop Gibson called my attention to a curious rendering of the *Te Deum* with Latin hexameters by Candidus, a monk of Fulda under Ratgar (802—817), which shows that these stanzas were

interpreted as addressed to the Father in the ninth century.

It is worth while to discuss this question thoroughly because the interpretation here rejected has been very popular in recent years. We have in Salisbury Cathedral a most beautiful Festival Frontal for the High Altar, designed by Mr. Gambier Parry and worked by Mrs. Weigall when Bishop Webb was Dean. It has Christ the King of Glory as the central figure, and Angels, Apostles, Prophets and Martyrs are represented as praising Him. It seems a pity that so much labour and artistic workmanship should be misdirected.

On the first page containing the hymn in the Vatican MS. Cod. 83, the initial T of *Te Deum* has a figure of our Lord robed and with a halo crucified on it. I suppose that this implies that the artist thought of the first words as addressed to Him. The date is *c.* 1000. A MS. in the British Museum (Add. 18859) of the twelfth century from Monte Cassino also has a crucifix as initial T. I owe these references to Mr. Frost.

When the hymn is thus printed in stanzas, the connection of ideas becomes plain. The first stanza (vv. 1—6) records the hymn of praise which is ever ascending to God the Father from all things visible and invisible. In the second stanza (vv. 7—13) the author narrows the circle of thought down to the praise of the Church upon earth, founded on the Apostles, Prophets and Martyrs of all ages of the Christian Dispensation. The mention of Apostles before Prophets shows that his thought, like that of S. Cyprian, from whom he has borrowed some phrases, is limited to the Christian Church, and that the Prophets are Christian teachers, who have been led to adore the mystery of the Revelation of the Blessed Trinity. Later on we shall find that he included Old Testament Patriarchs and Prophets in the Communion of Saints, the timeless fellowship of all ages. But that is not his thought here. In the third stanza the circle of thought is again narrowed to the limit of a single congregation, which

thankfully adores the Saviour through Whom this Revelation has been made known, pleading that by the mystery of His Incarnation, by His Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, they may be granted grace now and glory hereafter. The change of address from the Father to the Son has a parallel in the *Gloria in excelsis* which was coming into wider use at the end of the fourth century, and was possibly in the author's mind.

When I first proposed this theory of division of the hymn into three Stanzas to Bishop Wordsworth, he called it arbitrary and subjective. He then thought it open to the objection that the connection between the two great divisions of the hymn is not so close as to require so elaborate a similarity. Some may feel that the similarity is external rather than real, that the refrain of Stanza iii. (vv. 20—21), as being a prayer, is not really parallel to the acts of praise in the other refrains. The inclusion of such a prayer, however, has a close parallel in the threefold prayer to the Lamb of God in the *Gloria in excelsis*. Bishop Wordsworth had arranged for the printing of the *Te Deum* in the Coronation Service in three divisions, running my first two stanzas together, and marking off the concluding antiphons, which was a great advance on previous methods of printing. Afterwards he came round to my point of view and printed the three stanzas separately in the Diocesan Calendar, directing that it should be so sung!

I may now call attention to several corrections of the current translation, which need explanation, and to two variant readings which deserve attention.

We praise Thee as God is more exact, as "O God" would require the vocative case. In line 6, some MSS. of the Milan version have "glory of majesty." Bishop Wordsworth thought that "glory" may have stood alone in the original text. But there is a very early Gallican parallel for the double phrase "majesty of glory" in a sermon of Hilary of Arles (c. 430). I

plead for its retention even if there is some doubt as to the order of the words. The Irish MSS. here read : "The heavens and *the whole* earth are full of *the honour* of Thy glory." The form of Sanctus in the Stowe Missal has "the whole earth" (*universa terra*). The Bangor Antiphonary and the Book of Hymns in the Franciscan convent in Dublin have "honour" added to "glory" in the *Gloria Patri*.

In v. 8 the word *numerus*, taken from S. Cyprian, may be translated "regiment," and, as Bishop Wordsworth points out, there is a climax in the words "company, regiment, army." The translation "goodly fellowship" misses the mark. In v. 9, "white-robed army of martyrs" is picturesquely rendered in an early English version, "washed white and fair in their own blood."

In v. 16 the Irish version has "To deliver *the world* Thou didst take man (manhood) upon Thee." Bishop Lightfoot suggested that this was the original text and that the word "world" (*mundum*) dropped out because it ended with the same letters as the word before it (*liberandum*), a mistake often made by copyists. But Bishop Dowden argued strongly for the probability that an Irish scribe added the word who was familiar with the phrase "Saviour of the world."¹²

It is more difficult to decide between the readings "Thou tookest" (*suscepisti*) and "Thou wast about to take" (*suscepturus*). Bishop Wordsworth writes : "The former is more in the general abrupt style of the hymn, the latter reads like a corrector's refinement." But the latter was the reading of Cyprian of Toulon two centuries before any known MS. of the hymn. It was known to Hincmar of Rheims in the ninth century and to Abbo of Fleury in the tenth century, so we may

¹² On the other hand, Mr. E. Bishop in the note which he contributed to Kuyper's *Book of Cerne*, pp. 256 ff, regarded the words *salvator mundi* when coming immediately before the concluding formula in a prayer, as a Gallican rather than Irish peculiarity.

say it is an old and well attested reading in more MSS. than we at present possess.

Some MSS. omit the word altogether, possibly in fear of the Nestorian error, lest it should be interpreted take up "a man" rather than "manhood," thus denying the Unity of the Person of Christ, God and Man.

In verse 17, our translation misses the point of triumph over the "sting" of death. But Cranmer's addition of the word all (believers) is good for euphony.

In verse 18, the words "in the glory of the Father," are best taken, as Dr. Meyer suggests, with 19 as a reminiscence of Matt. xxv. 31, "The Son of Man shall come in the glory of the Father."

In verse 21, most of the MSS. have *munerari*, "to be dowered." Until the other day I should have said all. But Mr. Frost called my attention to the famous Bosworth Psalter in the British Museum (Vesp. A. 1) of the late tenth century written in the South of England. The reading is clearly *numerari*. But the Anglo-Saxon gloss between the lines goes back to the older reading. The MS. was in Archbishop Cranmer's library, and on fol. 2 is his signature, as Mr. Gilson, the keeper of the MSS., informs me in a Secretary's hand, for Cranmer put a dot in the T.

Mr. Gilson also calls my attention to the reading *numerari* in Cardinal Quignon's Breviary which we know that Cranmer used, though it had *munerari* in the Antwerp edition of 1536, and *numerari* in the Paris edition of the same year. Other editions had *munerari*. In the second recension of the Breviary the Antwerp edition of 1538 kept to *munerari*, as in 1544 and 1560, but many later editions had *numerari*.¹³

M. Magistretti also quotes an Ambrosian Manual of

¹³ See the editions of both recensions by J. W. Legg, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1888 and 1908.

^{halitus pueri dno accipimus}
 S an quoque papachiam rpn.
^{tuus dno rpn}
 Tu rex glorie xpi
^{tuus dno rpn}
 Tu pax simplicitas es pbur
^{tuus dno rpn}
 Tu adhibendum suscepisti homines non hospantia uisunt
^{tuus dno rpn}
 Tu de uero moris aculeo apuncta quodlibet pignora polor
^{tuus dno rpn}
 Tu ad dextram di pedit in gloria paxur
^{tuus dno rpn}
 I uox quodur esse natusus
^{tuus dno rpn}
 Te hgo quodur aut pumultu sub uultu quor ppeopo
^{tuus dno rpn}
 E quia pax cum pax aut gloria numbrari
^{tuus dno rpn}
 S ulu pax populu tuu dno te benedic hquedat tuu
^{tuus dno rpn}
 E t pax eos te excolle illos usque in eternum
^{tuus dno rpn}
 P p singulos dist benedicamus te
^{tuus dno rpn}
 E t laudamus nom tuu in eternum te in eternum pbi
^{tuus dno rpn}
 Dignare dno die isto pax peccator nos custodire
^{tuus dno rpn}
 Misericordia tua dno misericordia notari
^{tuus dno rpn}
 F ac misericordia tua dno sup nos quodmodu pphiamus in te
^{tuus dno rpn}
 I n te dno pphiam non confundat in eternum

the eleventh century which has the reading *numerari*.¹⁴

From this new evidence we gather that there were MSS. with the reading in England, Italy, and Spain before the reading "to be numbered" (*numerari*) began to appear in printed editions of the Breviary from 1491 onwards. Dr. Gibson suggested that this was not a printer's error in the first instance, but an attempt at textual criticism suggested by familiar words in the Canon of the Mass "to be numbered in the flock of Thine elect." But in a fifteenth century MS., such as the Great Breviary in Salisbury Cathedral Library (*Cod.* 152) written about 1460 for the Church of Arlingham in the county of Gloucester, it is exceedingly difficult to say at a glance whether the reading is *muncerari* or *numerari*. The first three letters are made with seven downstrokes exactly alike and connected with faint lines at the top of the *m* and *n*. So that it would be very easy to mistake the reading.

In the light of the new evidence we can understand Cranmer's preference, but there can be little doubt that the original reading was *muncerari*.

GREEK VERSIONS.

An interesting question is raised by the ancient Greek versions of the first 11 or 12 verses which have been preserved in a series of Quadruple Psalters which emanate from the school of S. Gall. They are found at S. Gall, Bamberg, Cologne, Paris (from Tournai) and Essen.

Another and inferior version of the first nine verses is found in a MS. at Milan. This is clearly an attempt at translation. But the question must be faced whether the former version might be a fragment of an early Greek hymn, of which the Latin version is a translation. In that case it must have stood behind the

¹⁴ *Monumenta ueteris liturgicae Ambrosianae* ii. 1, p. 1. *Ex codice olim in usum canonicae vallis Travaliae.*

passage quoted from S. Cyprian as the source of verses 7—9. On the whole, the theory of a Greek original is less probable. Moreover, the form of the Sanctus quoted in verses 5, 6, is Western, not Eastern. Bishop Wordsworth thought that the peculiar form of verse 10, in three MSS., of verse 12 in the S. Gall MS., and the absence of v. 13 betrayed “an incompetent and bungling hand attempting to translate at a later date and dropping the attempt.”¹⁵ I think that this Greek version probably comes from the pen of one of the “ellenici fratres” (Greek-speaking brethren) of S. Gall to whom Notker Balbulus refers in his famous letter to Lantpert (?). Notker was a pupil of the Irish scholar Moengal, one of the finest scholars of the day. But few of the monks had more than a superficial knowledge of Greek. As Mr. Clark says: “The Greek Paternoster, Litany and Symbol were frequently copied, but as a rule the scribe did not understand the meaning of the separate words.”¹⁶ A Missal of the tenth century preserved at S. Gall (*Cod.* 338) proves that the Creeds and the Lord’s Prayer were sung by these brethren in Greek.

THE VERSICLES ATTACHED TO THE HYMN.

We must now turn to the different combinations of versicles or antiphons, which have been attached to the hymn. We may distinguish four versions which we may call Ordinary, Irish, Milan, Spanish. The Ordinary version in our English Service books is probably derived from the Gallican, but its history is still obscure.

The Irish version alone prefixes a verse of Ps. cxiii. 1: “Praise the Lord ye servants, O praise the Name of the Lord.” The sources of the antiphons at the end are:

¹⁵ *Art. cit.*, p. 1126. See App. III.

¹⁶ *The Abbey of S. Gall*, 1926, p. 108.

Ordinary version, vv. 22, 23 = Ps. xxviii. 10.

24, 25 = Ps. cxlv. 2.

26 = One of the prayers of
the Daily Office.

27 = Ps. cxxiii. 3.

28 = Ps. xxxiii. 22.

29 = Ps. xxxi. 1 (*or* lxxi. 1).

Milan version Add. verse * = Dan. iii. 26, 52.

Spanish version Add. verse ** = Joel ii. 17.

The differing arrangements of these verses may be expressed in tabular form. I include with them the *Gloria in excelsis* antiphons from which some of them have been taken.

O — Ordinary Version.

A — *Cod. Vatic. Reg. 11.*

I — Irish version in the Bangor Antiphonary. (*Cod. Ambros. C. 5 inf.*)

M — Milan Version in *Cod. Vatic. 82.*

S — Spanish version in *Cod. Madrit. 10001 (Hh. 69).*

G — Antiphons added to the *Gloria in excelsis* in
Cod. Alexandrinus and the Bangor Anti-
phonary.

Verses 22 }	A	I	S	O	24 }	M
23 }					25 }	
24 }	G	I	S	O	22 }	M
25 }					23 }	

* Dan. iii. * A

* M

26, 52

26 }	A G	26 S	O
27 }			

* G

28	I	S	O
29		S	O

** Joel ii. 17.

** S

It is interesting that Paris B.N. Lat. 9488 has only verses 22, 23, 24, 25.

The simplest explanation of these differences seems

to be that Ps. xxviii. (—vv. 22, 23) was the *capitellum*, or Little Chapter, selected for the *Te Deum* in the Gallican Church. On the other hand, Ps. cxlv. 2 (—vv. 24, 25) was the *capitellum* for the *Gloria in excelsis*. It heads the series in each of the three Irish texts of the *Gloria* printed by Mr. Warren, among which Ps. xxviii. 10 is not found.

Bishop Gibson suggested that the *capitellum* of the *Gloria*, expressly mentioned by Cæsarius (see p. 1), was attached to the *Te Deum* when the *Gloria* was transferred from the Hour Office to the Liturgy. This would explain the double set of *capitella* in the Irish Version and the Ordinary Version, except *Cod. Vatic. Reg. 11*, which has vv. 22, 23; Dan. iii. 26, 52, vv. 26, 27. We now find from the Turin MS. that the *Te Deum* was added to the Liturgy for Easter Day taking with it both *capitella*. Perhaps this was the occasion for the further enlargement of the Irish text by adding v. 28.

That v. 28 (Ps. xxxiii. 22) did not belong to the original hymn, or its first *capitellum* is hinted by the "Amen," which precedes it in the Bangor Antiphonary. It was used twice during the Fraction in the Celtic Liturgy.

The Prayers v. 26 (from a Greek morning hymn) and v. 27 (Ps. cxxiii. 3), which are found among the Antiphons of the *Gloria in excelsis*, as among the *Præces* of the Daily Office, were added to the Ordinary Version certainly by the eighth century.

Lastly, v. 29 (Ps. xxxi. 1) was added to the Ordinary Version. It is found in the Bangor Antiphonary as the opening clause of a Prayer after the *Gloria in excelsis*. This offers an additional proof that the Ordinary Version is more closely connected with the Irish than the Milan Version.

The Milan Version inverts the order of verses—24, 25, 22, 23—and adds Dan. iii. 26, 52, another *capitellum* of the *Gloria in excelsis*. We cannot say when this

was done, but it shows how casually the antiphons were added.

The Spanish Version has vv. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 (omits 27), 28, 29, and adds Joel ii. 17b. "Spare Thy people O Lord and give not Thine heritage to reproach," which was evidently inserted under the domination of the Moors.

We have yet to explain the unique text in *Cod. Vatic. Reg. 11*, which adds to its proper *capitellum* vv. 22, 23, Dan. iii. 26, 52 and the *preces* vv. 26, 27. In my book on S. Niceta¹⁷ I suggested that this might be a case of arrested development, as showing us the position of the Gallican text at the time when the Irish text had reached its full development (for the date of this MS. corresponds to the date of the Bangor Antiphonary and the Turin fragment) before the great influx of Irish Missionaries brought back the enlarged Irish text to influence what we call the Ordinary Version.

Dom Cagin has shown that the nine verses which follow the *Gloria in excelsis* in the *Codex Alexandrinus* are a group which make up a Morning Hymn. But their history belongs rather to the Gloria than the Te Deum. Only some of them have been transferred to the Te Deum. But it may be of interest to quote them with the corresponding verses of the Te Deum.

24 Day by day . . . Ps. cxlv. 2.

25 And I will praise . . .

26 Vouchsafe, O Lord . . .

Blessed art thou Dan. iii. 26.

Then follow Ps. cxviii. 12 thrice, Ps. lxxxviii. 1, Ps. xl. 5, Ps. cxlii. 9, 10, Ps. xxxv. 10, 11.

THEORIES OF AUTHORSHIP.

We must now return to the MSS. of the hymn to take account of the theories of authorship which some of them propound. As we should expect the great majority name no author. Dom Cagin found some 48

¹⁷ P. cxx.

which refer the hymn to S. Ambrose and S. Augustine. There are two which assign it to S. Hilary of Poitiers. This theory was known to Abbo of Fleury who mentioned it in a letter to some English monks in 985. But it seems that S. Hilary, like S. Ambrose, wrote hymns in classical metres not in rhythmical prose. In some seven MSS. the name Sisebut occurs and in two the name Abundius. As they are most of them connected with Benevento and with Monte Cassino it seems probable that these are the names of monks who introduced the hymn into some new district, or composed some new musical setting. The British Museum has one from Shaftesbury Abbey of which we should like to know more.¹⁸

The great romance of the history of the authorship began in Feb., 1894, with the publication of an article in the *Revue Bénédictine* by Dom G. Morin, O.S.B., in which he called attention to the fact that a series of MSS., the more important being of Irish *provenance*, assigned the authorship to a Niceta, or Nicetus, whom he identified with Niceta of Remesiana, a distinguished Missionary Bishop of the fourth century. This group of MSS., which may now be counted up to 14, is widely distributed.

The first, the famous Irish Book of Hymns in the Franciscan Convent in Dublin, of the eleventh century, has a curious preface written in Latin and Old Irish.

"Neceta, coarb (i.e. successor) of Peter made this canticle. In Rome, now, it was made. But it is uncertain at what time and for what reason unless we should say that Niceta wished to praise God saying: 'Praise the Lord ye servants, O praise the name of the Lord,' 'We praise Thee O God.'"

Since e and i were often confused in the MSS. we may assume that the writer had inherited the true form of the name Niceta. And we know definitely that Remesiana was sometimes corrupted into Romana. It was quite natural for him to assume that Niceta was

¹⁸ See the list, App. III.

Bishop of Rome. Niceta, as we shall see, is the Latinized form of Niketas as *Patriarcha* of the Greek word *Patriarches*. But it has been the misfortune of Niceta of Remesiana to be confused with later writers with the names Nicetas and Nicetius.

The other MSS. of the Te Deum all have the form Nicetius, e.g., an Irish MS. at Munich (*Cod. lat.* 13067) from the Belgian monastery of Hastière of the eleventh or twelfth century. There are others in the British Museum, one at Angers, of the tenth century, three at Florence, and one in the Vatican Library.

A fragment of parchment used to envelope relics of the twelfth century, which was found by Dom V. Berlière, in Dec. 1896, in the treasury of the Cathedral at Trèves, has "The Hymn of S. Nicetius, the Bishop at Mattins."

A Martyrology of Münster of the thirteenth century in a MS. at Colmar (*Cod.* 122) speaks of Nicetius of Trèves as the Bishop who composed the Te Deum.

To us English Church-people it is of deep interest to find that in an early printed Psalter for the use of the Church of Salisbury, London, 1555, there is the title attached to the Te Deum, "Canticle of Blessed Nicetius the Bishop," with a note explaining that some held by the legend that when blessed Ambrose baptised S. Augustine, he began, "We praise Thee, O God," and Augustine replied in the next verse, and so they composed this hymn, which is not true, but they sang it as a previous composition of blessed Nicetus, Bishop of Vienne, as Cassiodorus has noted in his book *On the Institution of the Holy Scriptures*.

There is no doubt that Cassiodorus referred to the Bishop of Remesiana, but the Salisbury tradition is very interesting, and may now be supplemented from Lincoln. The Book of the Acts of the Chapter records that in 1552, on July 7th, when John Taylor was installed as Bishop, "after the sermon in the Mass, the Sub Dean and Chapter led the Bishop into the choir, the Vicars meanwhile singing the Canticle of blessed

Nicetius in the vulgar tongue.”¹⁹ I hope that further research may prove that this tradition of authorship was much more widely current in England than we had any idea of.

I wish we could find out something more about the sources used by the editor of the Salisbury Psalter. It is clear that he had come across the name of Nicetius as the author in some MS. and that he was a student of Cassiodorus. But it is not evident why he identified Nicetius with the Bishop of Vienne, an obscure personage of the fourth century. His critical instinct in refusing to believe the legend of the joint authorship of S. Ambrose and S. Augustine was sound; he may have known some of the metrical hymns ascribed to S. Ambrose. As a matter of fact, Cassiodorus does not speak of the hymn but praises the work of Niceta *On Faith*, which is the third Book of his Instructions to Candidates for Baptism. There is no doubt that he refers to Niceta of Remesiana. But his testimony shall be quoted in full. Up to this point we have only considered the hymn *Te Deum* as a hymn which was quoted by Cyprian of Toulon and Cæsarius of Arles. It had become widely known during the fifth century and we are justified in supposing that it should be dated from the beginning of that century or the last half of the fourth century. The legend of the joint authorship of S. Ambrose and S. Augustine may be “traced up as far as the year 856, when Hincmar of Rheims published his second dissertation on Predestination²⁰ in which he referred to it. The tradition however took fuller shape in a Milanese chronicle, now ascribed to Landulphus senior, who wrote in the eleventh century.”²¹ “The attribution of this part of the chronicle to Datius, Bishop of Milan (who died A.D. 552 or 553), by a large number of writers apparently copying from one another, naturally gave credit to this tradition; but

¹⁹ Transcript in Lincoln Record Society Publications, Vol. 15.

²⁰ C. 29=PP. *Lat.* 125, p. 290.

²¹ *Hist. Mediolanensis*, i. 9=PP. *Lat.* 147, p. 833.

it is now destitute of any other authority than that which may be given it by the reference of Hincmar."²² We may safely follow this careful statement by Bishop Wordsworth.

It remains to follow up the clue suggested by the name Nicetius. In the thirty years which have elapsed since Dom Morin first put forward his theory of authorship, it has been stoutly attacked and as stoutly defended, and has now a considerable amount of support. Bishop Wordsworth regarded it as the most plausible which he had heard of, and there is more to be said for it to-day.

²² Bishop Wordsworth, *Art. cit.*, p. 1122.

CHAPTER II.

S. NICETA OF REMESIANA.

THE name Niceta is derived from the Greek form Niketes,¹ which is more often quoted by his friend Paulinus than its Latin equivalent. Cassiodorus called him Nicetus. The name is also corrupted into Niceas,² Nicetius, Nicesius, and confused with Nicetas.

In the fourth century Remesiana was a little fortified garrison town on the great high road between the Old and the New Rome. It lay some 24 miles S.E. from Naissus, the modern Nisch. Its site is now occupied by the Serbian village of Bela Palanka. Sir A. J. Evans found there traces of Niceta's city. He speaks of the singularly Roman aspect of the old Turkish Palanka, or fort, an oblong *castrum* with a northern and southern gate and bastion towers at the angles. "The walls themselves are largely composed of squared blocks and tiles from the ancient city, and are certainly partly built on older foundations." He was shown a marble fragment with an inscription relating to the dedication of a Church, written in fourth or fifth century characters, which he restored as follows :

+ ECCLESIA[M PROTEGANT PE]
TRUS ET P[AULUS APOSTOLI]
SANT[IQUE OMNES]

The Church may Peter and Paul the Apostles and All Saints protect.

This coupling of the names of Peter and Paul is found in other early dedications, e.g., of the Basilica of *S. Pietro in Vincoli* founded by Pope Sixtus III., 432—440 A.D. By the fourth century the whole

¹ As *Patriarcha* is derived from *Patriarches*.

² Some MSS. of Gennadius have Niceas, but the Vatican MS. of the seventh century has Niceta !

neighbourhood had become thoroughly Romanised. Roman inscriptions are found even in remote glens. Here, then, Niceta laboured among the ordinary population of a Roman frontier town, including dependents of the garrison, merchants, miners and artisans. There were gold mines in the neighbourhood and the independent gold workers who took their spoils to the local officer of the mines, and were paid by a regulation scale, must often have been seen in the streets. Paulinus of Nola commends Niceta's effort to turn these "shrewd" miners into "golden men." In one of the fragments we find Niceta himself using the illustration of gold washing as familiar to his congregation: "We do not come to confession of faith until we have renounced the devil, as the gold washer does not put the gold into his sack until he has first washed off all the earth and mud."³

The early part of Niceta's life is a blank. Here is a hint in Paulinus (*Carm.* xvii.) that his home was in Dacia: "Thou wilt go to Scupi close to thy home, Dardanian guest." Scupi is the modern Uskub in Albania. But the context in which Paulinus refers to his journey to Remesiana, his later home, shows that the expression "home" (*patria*) should not be pressed.⁴

The only fixed dates in his history are the visits to Paulinus of Nola in 400 and 404 and the mention of his name in two letters of Pope Innocent in 409 and 414. Paulinus wrote of him in terms which seem to imply that Niceta was by a good deal the older. He calls him "holy father," "father and teacher."⁵ If the age of Paulinus in 400 was about 46, we may suppose that Niceta was as much as 60, or in other words, was born about 340. If we reckon from 340—414 this would make him about 74 at the date of Innocent's second letter. We may call him a contemporary of S. Jerome who lived 346—420.

³ *Niceta*, p. 53.

⁴ Patin, *Niceta*, p. 6.

⁵ *Carm.* xvii. 180, 233, 324, 345.

There is an old *Order of Catechising* which attained some popularity in the days of Charles the Great and contains some fragments of Niceta's writings which would otherwise be unknown. I would ask my readers to imagine my joy when I found at Munich the earliest edition of that *Order*, and in it a list of Doctors of the Church which a later editor cut out. In that list Niceta's name occurs between S. Hilary of Poitiers and S. Jerome.

Gennadius, a Gallican writer, who continued S. Jerome's work on the *Lives of Famous Men*, writing c. 480, put Niceta between Severianus, a Bishop of Gabala, who died in 408, and Olympius, Bishop of Barcelona or Toledo, who was present at a Council of Toledo in 400. As Gennadius does not refer to him as still living it is impossible to suppose that he had in his mind Nicetas of Aquileia, to whom our Niceta's famous sermon on the Apostles' Creed was afterwards ascribed. The Bishop of Aquileia lived on till 485.

Gennadius implies that Niceta was at the height of his influence c. 400, but the first possible mention of his name occurs some thirty-three years earlier.

S. Hilary of Poitiers, the great ally of S. Athanasius in the last stage of the Arian controversy, has preserved among other documents a letter (Frag. xv.), which Germinius, Bishop of Sirmium sent to certain Bishops, when he broke away from the Arian leaders Ursacius of Singidunum and Valens of Mursia in 367. It is addressed to Rufianus, Palladius, Severinus, Nicha(!), Heliodorus, Romulus, Mucianus and Stercorius.

Kattenbusch⁶ was the first to suggest that Nichae (Nichae quoted in the dative) might be a corruption of Niceta, and the specimen of writing which Maunde Thompson⁷ gives from Dacian wax tablets shows that it would be easy to mistake *et* for *h*.

Some of the names may be identified. Thus Rufianus

⁶ *Theol. Lit.*, 1896, p. 303.

⁷ *Manual of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 216.

may be the Rufinianus to whom S. Athanasius wrote after 362. The Coptic MSS. call him Rufinus the archbishop, from which we may gather that his see was at some distance from Alexandria. He had written to Athanasius about the teaching of the Council of Alexandria, held in 362, on the Person of Christ. Athanasius in his reply refers to synods held in Greece, Spain, and Gaul. This suggests that his correspondent's interests were concerned with the West. He condemns Eudoxius who was at that time Bishop of Constantinople. Was this Rufianus a predecessor of Ascholi in the see of Thessalonica?

Palladius seems to have been the Bishop of Ratiaria (near Widdin) on the Danube, who was condemned by the Council of Aquileia in 381. Severinus may be the Severus mentioned in a letter of S. Ambrose⁸ to eleven Bishops of Eastern Illyricum and to the clergy and people of the Church of Thessalonica in 383. Heliodorus is probably the Bishop who was translated from Moesia to Nicopolis in Thrace.⁹

If we include Niceta in this company we must put back the date of his birth some three or four years to bring him to the age at which he could be consecrated Bishop. But that is not incredible, and there is a distinct literary connection between the letter of Germinius and Niceta's earliest treatise "On different names (of the Lord)" to which I called attention in my *Niceta*,¹⁰ which confirms the possibility that we might find him in the company of those Bishops to whom Germinius turned when he drew nearer to Catholicism. In any case this is the best point at which to begin a study of Church affairs during Niceta's ministry. The year 367 marked the last stage in the Arian controversy. Germinius had been translated by the Emperor Constantius from Cyzicus to Sirmium on

⁸ *Ep.* xv.

⁹ Socr. *H.E.*, vii. 31 = Eliodorus e Nicopole mentioned by Hilary. *Frag.* 2.

¹⁰ *P.* xxxix.

the high road from Aquileia, which passed through Naissus and Remesiana to Constantinople. He was closely allied to Arian leaders at the height of their power. Shortly after his translation appeared the famous Sirmian manifesto which taught that the Son is unlike the Father. This, as Dr. Gwatkin shows, was "the turning point of the whole contest." It led to the alliance of Eastern conservatives with the Nicene leaders.

Germinius was also present at the Convention of Acacian and Semiarian leaders, when Mark of Arethusa drew up the famous Dated Creed (4th of Sirmium) on May 22nd, 359. S. Athanasius makes fun of this Creed :

"What defect of teaching was there for religious truth in the Catholic Church, that they should enquire concerning faith now, and should prefix this year's Consulate to their profession of faith? For Ursacius and Valens and Germinius and their friends have done what never took place, never was heard of among Christians. After putting into writing what it pleased them to believe, they prefix to it the Consulate, and the month and the day of the current year; thereby to show all sensible men that their faith dates, not from of old, but now, from the reign of Constantius; for whatever they write has a view of their own heresy."¹¹

But the Creed was conservative in its appeal to Scripture, and in its reverence for our Lord's Person; it laid emphasis on the mystery of the Eternal Generation of the Son; it confessed that He is like the Father in all points.

The Semiarians¹² made a mistake in allying themselves with the Homoeans.¹³ They were soon betrayed. Confession of "Likeness in all points" would bring

¹¹ *De Synodis*, C. 3.

¹² A convenient description of conservatives who were afraid of the term *Homoousios*, "*Of one essence*" (with the Father).

¹³ Those who confessed that the Son was *Homoiousios*, "*Of like essence*."

an honest mind near to confession of "likeness in essence" which is the stepping-stone to the Nicene term "Of one essence." But not only did Valens, Bishop of Mursa, try to omit the words "in all points" from his subscription; with Ursacius he before long denied that they had ever stood in the original document. The revelation of this duplicity roused Germinius to send to Rufianus and the other Bishops a profession of faith in which he gave Scriptural proofs for the "Likeness in all points." Then he answered arguments from Scriptural titles such as "the Way," and "the Door," by which the Arians tried to prove that Christ was a created being. Lastly, he gave an account of the discussions which preceded the publication of the Dated Creed, and flatly accused Ursacius and Valens of lying.

We do not know whether Germinius was led on to accept the full Nicene teaching or not. But this was probably the occasion on which Niceta wrote his treatise on the Scriptural titles of our Lord, for he quotes some ten out of the fifteen titles.¹⁴

A few years later, in 371, an important synod was held at Rome by Damasus, which addressed a letter to the Bishops in Illyricum to encourage them in the faith. The Synod had received reports from "Brethren among the Gauls and Bessi" as to a revival of Arianism. The reading "Bessi"¹⁵ here is more difficult than the variant "Venetians" and is, therefore, to be preferred. The words seem to imply that the report was verbal because the Synod proceeds to mention a written report on the matter of Auxentius of Milan whom they forthwith deposed.

Dr. Zahn suggests that the bearer of the tidings may

¹⁴ See page 40.

¹⁵ This is the reading of Cod. Novar. xxx. (66) quoted in Spicilegium Casinense, 1, 98. The variant "Venetorum" is the reading of Theodoret, Sozomen, and the Latin codex used by Holstenius. It is preferred by Father Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, p. 484, v. 4.

have been Niceta, and that such a previous visit to Italy would explain the fact that he was so well known to Paulinus of Nola in 400. While the great confusion of creeds lasted on, to which this letter of the Synod points, Niceta was actively engaged on his mission to the Bessi. Paulinus also speaks of his work among the Getae in the Balkan highlands. A letter from S. Jerome to Heliodorus written *c.* 396, speaks of the progress that had been made, that the Bessi were giving up their inhuman customs to make known the sweet songs of the Cross. Twenty-five years would not be too much to allow for such arduous labours.

For this quarter of a century it is only possible to sketch the course of events in bare outline. An Illyrian Council in 375, which declared that the three Persons of the Trinity were of one substance, obtained an Imperial decree in its favour. But the rule of Valens still encouraged the Arians to hope for a new lease of power until his death in the battle of Hadrianople in 378. This was a crushing blow to the Empire. The Goths, who had already devastated the whole district of Thrace and Dacia, could not be dislodged and were allowed to settle where they would in Dacia.

In 379 Gratian entrusted to Theodosius the Empire of the East, and handed over to him the Illyrian dioceses of Macedonia and Dacia. The following year, while he lay sick at Thessalonica, Theodosius was baptised by Ascholius of Thessalonica and published a law "commanding all men to follow the Nicene doctrine." A further edict gave up the Churches to the Nicenes, and in May, 381, the Second General Council was summoned to meet at Constantinople. We have no definite information how these events affected Niceta, but it is important for the understanding of his writings that they should be borne in mind.

While we can find no trace of any influence exerted upon Niceta by the Council of 381, there are manifest traces of influence on his double treatise *On the Reasonableness of Faith and the Power of the Holy*

Spirit (Bk. III) exerted by the Synod held under Damasus in 380. The Synodical Acts were sent to Ascholius of Thessalonica as Metropolitan. Patin has exhibited the parallels in tabular form and has left no reasonable ground for doubting that Niceta was dependent on the Acts for many phrases.¹⁶

FRIENDSHIP WITH PAULINUS OF NOLA.

A man is known by his friends. In Paulinus of Nola, Niceta, the missionary bishop of an obscure provincial see, had a friend who was in touch with the leaders of the Church in the West and with men of letters both Christian and Pagan. Paulinus was himself the favourite pupil of Ausonius, one of the most representative men of letters of the time. He inherited wealth and position and held high offices as consul and judge before, to the regret of Ausonius, he forsook the world and was baptised. He went to Barcelona where he met his wife Therasia. They seem to have lost their only child, and determined in 394 to retire to Nola, where Paulinus had a house and property, near the tomb of the martyr Felix, to whose service he had specially dedicated himself. There they built an additional Church with cloisters, and made provision for crowds of pilgrims, supplying a fountain and basin for drinking and washing. The Church was adorned with marbles and frescoes representing Old Testament scenes and characters. Paulinus laid great stress on the instruction of the illiterate by pictures.

At the end of his stay at Barcelona, Paulinus had been ordained priest in response to a sudden popular demand. He gives us a hint that some of the clergy in Rome were either jealous of him or suspicious, as he contrasts the coldness of their reception with the warmth of the welcome which he received in Campania, both bishops and clergy of the neighbourhood coming

¹⁶ *Niceta*, p. 35.

to visit him when he was sick. Both he and his wife devoted much of their property to the redeeming of captives and the release of debtors. At Nola they enlarged their house as an asylum for the poor, adding a story in which they lived an ascetic life with some friends of like mind.

He numbered among his intimate friends Victricius, the renowned missionary bishop of Rouen, S. Augustine, S. Jerome, Sulpicius Severus the Gallican historian, and he was well known to S. Ambrose, and indeed all the notable people of the Western Church.

It may be of interest to add that he was elected Bishop of Nola, *c.* 409, soon after his wife's death, and in 410, when Campania was laid waste by Alaric Mani, he devoted all his goods to the redeeming of captives and the relief of the suffering. The prayer recorded when he was in the hands of his captors tells its own story: "Lord, let me not suffer torture for the sake of silver and gold, for whither all these are gone Thou knowest." He died, June 22nd, 431, the day on which he is commemorated in early martyrologies with Niceta. He left some 50 letters and 36 poems. It was his habit to write a poem every year in celebration of the Feast of S. Felix.

A charming life of him was written by our own, too often neglected, author, Henry Vaughan, Silurist, in 1654. The attractiveness of his character and the greatness of his generosity must be my excuse for this lengthy digression. Yet it is needed as a background for our imagination if we try to picture Paulinus' delight in showing Niceta all his new buildings, and the line of the conversations which he hoped to enjoy with him on their walks. Paulinus turned to Niceta as an older friend, he calls him "Holy Father," he desires spiritual counsel on all that he has done or desires to do.

The reasons which led Niceta to pay his historic visits to Paulinus in 400 and 404 can only be guessed. Their date is fixed by a reference in Carm. 27, 333, in which he speaks of Niceta's return in the fourth year.

This was the tenth Birthday poem for S. Felix and was written for Jan. 14, 404.¹⁷

Possibly their friendship was not the sole cause of these visits. Paulinus wrote to Sulpicius Severus that on the first occasion Niceta had come to him from Rome, where his piety and learning had made a deep impression.

Soon after the death of Theodosius in 395, unsettled by the partition of his empire between his young sons, the Goths had begun to move westwards from their settlements in Dacia and Moesia. Their chieftain, Alaric, with a horde of warriors, overran the Balkan peninsula, but was bribed by Stilicho to make peace. Thus dark war clouds brooded over Dacia.

It is possible that Niceta had business to transact in connection with the disturbed condition of Church politics in Eastern Illyricum, which at the division of the Empire in 379 had been given to the Eastern Empire. This upset the system of ecclesiastical organisation which connected the Illyrian Church with Rome. At the Council of Sardica in 343 an appellate jurisdiction, though of a limited kind, had been conferred on Rome. The policy was popular among the Illyrian Bishops, especially those of Dacia and Dardania, who were bound to Rome by the tie of language and the common interests of colonies with their mother country. Gaudentius, Bishop of Naissus, was present at Sardica and proposed one of the canons.

The patriarch of Constantinople now sought to draw them under his jurisdiction. To counteract his influence, Pope Damasus gave vicarial powers to Ascholius, Bishop of Thessalonica, making him Metropolitan over the whole of Eastern Illyricum. The evidence goes to show that there had been no Metropolitan in Eastern Illyricum before this date.

¹⁷ In my *Niceta*, p. xlix., I followed the dates given by Buse, Paulin. i., p. 367, but they have been corrected by Paul Reinelt, *Studien über die Briefe des heiligen Paulinus von Nola*, Breslau, 1904, p. 35.

In 384, Pope Siricius, the successor of Damasus, wrote to Anysius who had succeeded Ascholius, to complain that unworthy persons had been consecrated Bishops in Eastern Illyricum without his consent or the consent of Anysius. The close relations between the see of Thessalonica and the see of Rome were not allowed to drop. S. Ambrose, in a letter to Anysius, writes of Ascholius as a great traveller, mentioning visits both to Constantinople and Italy. May we conjecture that Niceta carried on the work which Ascholius had begun? His missionary labours would be hampered by the prevailing unrest, and his diocese on the high road to Constantinople would be at once affected by any new movement in the ecclesiastical affairs of Eastern Illyricum.

It is possible also that we should bring into the question the obscure personality of Bonosus, Bishop of Sardica, or (as some think) of Naissus, whose diocese in either case bordered on that of Niceta. Accusations were made against him at the Synod of Capua in 391, but the case was referred to Anysius as Metropolitan. From the letter of Siricius, quoted above, we gather that Anysius was unwilling to judge the case and that the Bishop of Rome's authority was required to make him do so. Bonosus was then condemned and deposed. He appealed to S. Ambrose, who counselled him to submit, but he would not, and began a schism which lasted for three centuries. There is the more reason for recording these facts as supplying an inducement to go and confer with the Bishop of Rome on the general condition of the Church, because the last mention of Niceta in contemporary history is in two letters of Pope Innocent which deal with this very matter.

The first¹⁸ was written from Ravenna soon after Innocent had begun to reside there, i.e., c. 404 to Martinianus, Bishop of Naissus. It deals with the complaints of a priest, Germanio, and a deacon, Lupentinus, who stated to Innocent that they had been ordained by

¹⁸ *Ep.* xxi.

Bonosus before his condemnation. Martianus would not recognise them, though he permitted them to retain their Churches. Innocent was of opinion that he should acknowledge their orders, especially since they claimed as witnesses of their ordination the late Bishop of Sirmium, Cornelius, and (in Innocent's words) "our brother Niceta."

The second letter¹⁹ is addressed to the Bishops of Macedonia, headed by Rufus of Thessalonica. Both Martianus and Niceta are mentioned. Innocent, writing in 414 after the sack of Rome, begins with an expression of thankfulness that the Archdeacon Vitalis, who had brought the letters to which this is an answer had arrived safely. Among other questions he deals with the case of priests ordained by Bonosus who had been reconciled by the laying on of the hand of an orthodox Bishop. They pleaded that Anysius, the former Metropolitan, had permitted them to officiate, and that the Council of Nicæa allowed it in the case of the Novatians. But in this case they had been ordained after the condemnation of Bonosus, and Innocent laid down the law that ordinations by heretics²⁰ are invalid. He held that Anysius in his action had been constrained by necessity, that the Nicene Canons applied to Novatians only. He suggested that the men ordained by Bonosus at the end of his life, when he was isolated, took the risk of finding themselves suspected of seeking ordination from him because their characters would not bear investigation by other Bishops.

The suggestion that Niceta had business to transact with the Bishop of Rome explains his choice of a route for his homeward journey in 400. Paulinus traces it²¹ from some port of Epirus to Thessalonica by sea, then

¹⁹ *Ep.* xxii.

²⁰ The Bonosians are usually charged with the heresy of Photinus who spoke of our Lord as a mere man (Gennadius, *de ecl. dogm.*, c. 52). But Niceta speaks of that heresy as almost extinct (*De rat. fid.*, 2).

²¹ *Carm.* xvii. 17—20 and 193—196.

by the high road up the Axios valley to Stobi and Scupi, and so by the cross road to Naissus and Remesiana. He could have travelled by a more direct route from the port of Salonae to Naissus. He evidently went to report the result of his journey or mission (?) to his Metropolitan and neighbouring Bishops.

These letters are of great interest as throwing light upon the general condition of the Church in Dacia. Its members were zealous amidst all their anxieties to supply to their flocks "faithful and true pastors." But it is tantalising to find no fresh light on the personality of Niceta. For that we must turn to the poems of Paulinus.

Paulinus, in the letter quoted above,²² writes of him in a charming way to Sulpicius Severus, describing how shortly after Niceta's visit in January he had had a visit from Melania, the great traveller and Lady Bountiful of the period. He had introduced them both to the life of S. Martin of Tours which Sulpicius Severus had lately written and delighted in hearing their praise of it. Paulinus was himself a true scholar and his admiration of Niceta's learning was based on a high standard. It was no slight test of literary capacity that a Dacian Bishop should be admitted on equal terms to the society of this friend of Ambrose and Augustine. Their friendship, moreover, was based on something more than affinity of cultured tastes. They enjoyed that "Communion of Saints" of which Niceta wrote glowing words in his Sermon on the Creed. Paulinus' farewell to Niceta reminds us of a passage in one of his letters to Victricius: "For although we are parted by long distances yet we are joined by the Spirit of the Lord, in whom we live and abide, being poured forth everywhere, as the members of one body having one heart and one soul in the one God."²³

To gain the friendship of such a man was worthy

²² *Ep.* xxix. 14.

²³ *Ep.* xviii.

of the author of the *Te Deum*, and we feel that his expectation was not misled when he wrote of the pleasure which he had derived from Niceta's gifts as a hymn writer. Very beautiful is his description of the ship's crew taught to sing hymns.

“The mariners in joy
Their chauntry shall employ
To raise thy measures apt in song,
Their strains of praise shall woo
Companion airs
To follow thee o'er sea.

Niceta's herald tongue
Like trumpet from afar
Shall sing to all its lays of Christ,
And David's deathless strain
His harpstring's sweet refrain,
Shall hover floating o'er the sea's domain.

The sea beasts in amaze
Shall hear the voiced Amen,
And the sportive monsters of the deep
Shall assemble from afar
With many a gambol quaint
Heaven's priest to greet
Who singeth to his Lord.”²⁴

This is a specimen of a poem which at some points reaches a very high level of beauty, especially in the description of Niceta's work in that “dumb region of the world” where he teaches barbarian lips in the Roman tongue to re-echo Christ.

The interest of the other poem, an Ode for the Birthday of S. Felix, in which, according to Reinelt, he anticipates the return of Niceta in 404 is comparatively small. It deals with a worn-out theme, and exhibits the toying with words and pretty phrases which was characteristic of the school of Ausonius. He fears lest

²⁴ *Carm.* xviii., 109—120. I owe this translation to the Rev. T. Marsden.

the perils of war, or of the long fatiguing journey or the fear of the Goths, or the cold should keep Niceta back.

“ Equally strong and weak but in either master of
thyself,
Conquered by friendship, conquered by love of
Felix,
Thou hast conquered hard labours by tender
affection.”²⁵

His gloomy picture of the state of Dacia is confirmed by a letter of S. Jerome to Heliodorus written about the same time, in which he describes the desolation wrought in the unhappy Danube lands, where nothing was to be seen but earth and sky, and thick barren wood, in which even birds and wild beasts were rare.²⁶

Here the story of this friendship ends, as abruptly as it began, but the little that we know is bound up with important events in the life of Niceta, and played some part in the development of his character. I may quote Paulinus :

“ Thank God that in true affection He has bound us to thee with bands so strong that no might may avail to loose such a chain. Neither time nor space can ever part us. For Death itself cannot accomplish this, for love dies not even when the body fades in death.”²⁷

In early Martyrologies, S. Niceta was commemorated on June 22nd, with his friend S. Paulinus of Nola. Thus in the Hieronymian Martyrology he was called Bishop Nicetas of holy memory. In the Martyrologies of Ado, Usuard, and Ps. Bede, his see was called Romatiana. In the Roman Martyrology, published at Venice in 1585 by order of Pope Gregory XIII., he was described as “ illustrious in teaching and holy living.”

²⁵ *Carm.* xxvii., 343 ff.

²⁶ *Ep.* xxx.

²⁷ *Carm.* xvii., 280—296.

It is particularly interesting to note that Bishop J. de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, remembered him in his Martyrology, for this is definite evidence of ancient commemoration in the Church of England.

When Cardinal Baronius, who had been made a Cardinal in 1596, revised the Roman Martyrology, he identified Niceas with Nicetas of Aquileia. He perversely explained that Romatiana=Romana was a description of Aquileia because it was a Roman colony, and in the days of its glory a second Rome. He had to admit that Nicetas of Aquileia had not been commemorated even in his own Church before this time. But he insisted on transferring the friend of Paulinus to January 7th! In the modern Roman Martyrology we find: "In Dacia of S. Niceta, the Bishop who by the preaching of the Gospel rendered wild and barbarous peoples mild and gentle." This was not done without criticism. But Baronius carried his point. Subsequently his argument was bolstered up by a new suggestion. In his *Natural History* Pliny mentions the harbour of Concordia, which is some way from Aquileia, but it was assumed that Nicetas, after the destruction of Aquileia by the barbarians, had removed his see to Portus Romatinus, which was identified with the Civitas Romaciana of Gennadius, and the Martyrologies. When Cardinal Stephen Borgia found the Sermon on the Creed of Niceta in a MS. in the Library of Prince Chigi at Rome ascribed to Nicetas of Aquileia, this was regarded as confirming the theory.

In the Sarum Calendar, June 22nd was appropriated to S. Alban, whose right to commemoration in our Church is indisputable, but in other Calendars he is commemorated on June 17th, which would leave June 22nd free for the insertion of S. Niceta's name in the Calendar of the future Revised Prayer Book.²⁸

²⁸ See App. IV., p. 85.

CHAPTER III.

S. NICETA AS A TEACHER.

THE memory of this long-forgotten "Doctor" of the Church was treasured for some time after his death, both in Gaul and Italy. Gennadius of Marseilles, in his appendix to the work of S. Jerome on the *Lives of Illustrious Men*, the first Dictionary of Christian Biography, wrote the following :

Chapter 22. "Niceta, Bishop of the city of Remesiana, composed in simple and graceful language six Books of Instruction for Candidates for Baptism. The first of these contains : 'How candidates who desire to obtain grace of Baptism ought to act'; the second 'On the errors of the Gentiles,' in which he relates that not far from his own time a certain Melodius, father of a family, on account of his liberality, and Gadarius a peasant, on account of his bravery, were placed by the heathen among the gods; a third book 'On faith in one majesty'; a fourth 'Against the casting of horoscopes'; a fifth 'On the Creed'; a sixth 'On the sacrifice of the paschal lamb.' He addressed a work also 'To the Fallen Virgin,' encouraging to amendment all who have fallen."

Short as this chapter is, it has been of priceless value in the labour of gathering together scattered fragments of Niceta. Thus we have four fragments of Book I., one possible fragment of Book II. The Treatises on Faith and the Holy Spirit together make up Book III. Of Book IV. there is no trace. Book V. is the famous Sermon on the Creed, and Book VI. has been identified with a Ps—Athanasian treatise "On the meaning of the Passover," though this must still be considered doubtful.

The work addressed "To a fallen Virgin," is probably to be identified with a book which has been pre-

served under the names of Niceta, Ambrose and Jerome. In the oldest MS. (MS. d'Épinal, written between 622 and 744) it bears the title "Letter of Niceta the Bishop." There is also a curious colophon to the effect that S. Ambrose had corrected the text when it had been corrupted by unskilful writers. Dom Morin says amusingly that if this sort of colophon deserved any credit it would prove that Ambrose understood better how to edit his own works than to correct those of his neighbours.¹

Prof. C. H. Turner writes: "Now it seems as impossible to refuse all credence to this note as it is to accept it as it stands. On the one hand, S. Ambrose was an elder contemporary and a not very distant neighbour of Niceta—the fixed points in the latter's life range from 398 to 414, while Ambrose died in 397 and if he had wanted a corrected copy of Niceta's writings would naturally have applied to him in person. On the other hand, the formula 'I emended at Milan' has all the ring of genuineness." He suggests that some time in the fifth century a scholar of the name of Ambrose edited at Milan this treatise of Niceta, and appended to his edition the customary record of his work. A later scribe or editor, supposing that no Milanese Ambrose could be other than the Saint, and puzzled to know why Ambrose should be "emending" Niceta, offered the explanation contained in the extant colophon.²

Cassiodorus, the Prime Minister of the Gothic King Theodoric, in his book *On the Institution of Divine Letters*, c. 16, says that "if anyone wishes to arrive at a summary statement about the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and does not wish to tire himself with long reading, let him read the book of Nicetius the Bishop, which he wrote *On the Faith*, and satisfied with the clearness of heavenly doctrine he will be led on to divine contemplation with advantageous brevity!"

¹ See my *Niceta*, p. cxxxii.

² J.T.S., vii., p. 217.

Cassiodorus had found it in a MS. together with the treatises which S. Ambrose wrote for the Prince Gratian. His praise of the style is justified, for this Bk. III. is the most closely reasoned of all Niceta's work. It was probably delivered as two separate addresses, "On the Reasonableness of Faith" and "On the Holy Spirit," for it is so divided in the MSS. There are references to it in this form in a tenth century catalogue of the MSS. of the Monastery of S. Nazarius at Lorsch, and in an eleventh century catalogue of the Library at Pomposa. The latter catalogue also refers to a treatise on the titles given to our Lord. This is not mentioned by Gennadius, nor does he refer to the very interesting Sermons "On Vigils" and "On the Good of Psalmody" which I will describe in the next chapter. The treatise "On the different Titles of our Lord" appears to be Niceta's contribution to a lively controversy which followed the secession of Germinius from the Arian party in 367.³ The titles which were most discussed were "Word," "Lamb," "Way," "Stone." Niceta quotes some ten out of the fifteen titles mentioned by Germinius and adds ten more.

Hümpel's hesitation about the authorship does not seem to be warranted. The monotony of style to which he takes exception was inevitable in answering Arian arguments. Hümpel admits that the second part is more lively. The personal appeal "Have confidence, O faithful one," is quite in Niceta's style, as is the reference to Christ as Physician of souls and bodies, the sympathetic reference to persecution at the hands of Gentiles which Christ also suffered, and the warnings against worldliness and sensuality.

There is an interesting reference to daily Eucharists: "He is called Priest either because He offered

³ The discussion was continued in the treatise ascribed to Phaebadius of Agen "On the Orthodox Faith," and the so-called Gelasian Decree which represents the work of a Roman Synod held in 382 under Damasus.

His own Body to God the Father as an offering and victim for us, or because He deigns to offer by means of us day by day." It is strange that he does not give a Eucharistic reference to "Bread": "He is called Bread because He has satisfied the hunger of knowledge by His Gospel." There is an interesting parallel to the *Te Deum* in the words: "He is called door because by Him an entrance into the Kingdom of heaven is opened to believers."

THE BOOKS OF INSTRUCTION.

Gennadius describes Bk. I. as follows: "How candidates who desire to obtain grace of Baptism ought to act." But, unfortunately, we have only fragments. In Fragment 2 Niceta illustrates the system by which the Catechumen when he gives in his name for the final preparation, becomes a fellow-seeker, for that is what the word "competens" means. He was allowed inside the Church to attend the first part of the Liturgy.

"A catechumen is, as it were, a guest and neighbour of the faithful, from outside hearing of mysteries but not understanding; hearing of grace but not paying attention; after this in truth he begins to be called 'faithful.'"

Bk. III. "On the reasonableness of Faith."

Gennadius gives the general title *On Faith in one Majesty*, i.e., of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. But the Book is divided in the MSS. into two portions, the second having the title *On the power of the Holy Spirit*. Niceta is excellent in his demonstration of the captious questions which were asked about the mysteries of the Divine Being which should rather call out admiration: "They dispute concerning the quality and quantity of that Mystery saying: 'How great is the Father? Of what sort is the Son? Of what kind is the Holy Spirit?' O man, not yet knowing thyself dost thou dare to measure the Divine?"

Again, in the treatise on the Holy Spirit, he is very sarcastic about the tortuous philosophy of Arian controversialists : *c.* 2. "For these rebels against the Holy Spirit ask 'Was the Holy Spirit born or unborn?' See how two snares are thrust out right and left, for in whichever direction you wish to set your foot in reply you will be taken. If you say 'He was born,' he will say : 'Then there is not an only-begotten Son of God inasmuch as there is another born of the Father.' If you say 'He was not born,' he will say to thee : 'Then there is also another unbegotten Father, and now there is no longer One God the Father, of whom are all things' (1 Cor. viii. 6). But when he has thus blocked the way of reply on both sides he has now led thee as it were by a straightforward course into the pitfall that he may say : 'If, then, the Spirit is neither born of the Father nor unbegotten, it remains that He must be called a creature.'"

Niceta's conclusion is that we ought to listen to Christ rather than men, for He has called the Spirit neither "born" nor "made," but says only that He proceeds from the Father. He multiplies texts leading up to this conclusion :

"If the Holy Spirit is from the Father, if He frees, if He sanctifies, if He is Lord, as said the Apostle,⁴ if He creates with the Father and the Son, if He makes alive, if He has foreknowledge as the Father and the Son, if He reveals, if He is everywhere, if He fills the world, if He dwells in the elect, if He converts the world, if He judges, if He is good and right, if concerning Him proclamation is made : 'Thus saith the Spirit,' if He dwells in the elect, if He slays those who tempt Him, if he who blasphemes Him has no remission of sins either in this world or in the world to come, something which indeed belongs to God alone, if these things are so, rather because they are true, why am I asked to say what the Holy Spirit is when by the greatness of His works He manifests what He is?

⁴ 2 Cor. iii. 17.

That is to say, He is not different from the Father and the Son in respect of majesty who is not different from them in the power of His works. It is useless to deny to Him the name of divinity when the power of divinity cannot be denied to Him. It is useless to forbid me to worship Him with the Father and the Son, when I am constrained by truth itself to confess Him with the Father and the Son." In *c.* 22 he lays stress on a complete belief in the Trinity and equally on conduct worthy of a Christian: "If, then, thou art called a man of God, and art not a Christian, thou art nothing. Equally if thou art called a Christian and art not spiritual, do not be too confident about thy salvation."

Book V., "On the Creed," opens with a reference to the form of Renunciation. Under Christ's leadership let a man renounce the enemy and his angels, that is, "give up universal curiosity in magic art which is carried on through the angels of Satan." This was no unreal danger to souls in any town at that period. The previous book "Against the casting of horoscopes" would, if it had been preserved, have given us most interesting information about the current conceptions of the influence of the stars on human lives. We know how the mystery religions drifted into magical practices. Sir A. J. Evans saw some villagers 30 miles from Remesiana, both Christian and Mahomedan, pouring libations of wine on an old altar of Jupiter, the cloud-compeller, in a time of drought! Niceta's book against Gentile errors would not be out of date in that district. The reference to renunciation of "cults, idols, lots and auguries, pomps and theatres, thefts and dishonesty, fornication and drunkenness, dances and deceits," shows how the sight of flaunting vice had corrupted the hearts of the townsfolk. The crude hero-worship of the more ignorant villagers was as difficult to conquer. According to Gennadius, Niceta related in his second book, "that not far from his own time a certain Melodius, father of a family, on account of his liber-

ality, and Gadarius, a peasant, on account of his bravery, were placed by the heathen among the gods."

The form of Creed upon which Niceta comments has many points of interest. It is based on the Old Roman Creed, which was in common use with variations in the West. It is the first to introduce the words "creator of heaven and earth," and "Communion of Saints." It may be compared with an Arian creed which was probably used in the Danube lands not far away, which has "creator of heaven and earth," and with the "Creed of S. Jerome," which seems to be a composite form, consisting of his Baptismal Creed with additions from the Creed of Jerusalem. S. Jerome was a native of Pannonia, and this seems to prove that the clause "Communion of Saints" had come into the Creed of the Danubian provinces, Pannonia and Dacia, from the middle of the fourth century.

- I. 1. I believe in God the Father,
almighty, *creator of heaven and earth*;
- II. 2. And in His Son Jesus Christ (our Lord?)
3. born of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin Mary,
4. *suffered* under Pontius Pilate, crucified, dead;
5. the third day rose again *alive* from the dead;
6. ascended into heaven,
7. sitteth at the right hand of the Father,
8. *thence* He shall come to judge quick and dead.
- III. 9. And in the Holy Spirit,
10. the Holy Catholic Church, communion of saints,
11. remission of sins,
12. resurrection of the flesh *and eternal life*.

The italics show variations from the current Roman form. In Art. 5, "rose again *alive*" comes into later Spanish Creeds, but it had stood in the earlier Roman form as quoted by Hippolytus, in his treatise on the

Apostolic Tradition recently recovered from oblivion by Dom H. Connolly, O.S.B.⁵

There is an excellent section on the catechetical activity of Niceta in Dr. Wiegand's book on *The Position of the Apostles' Creed in the Church life of the Middle Ages*.⁶ He shows the similarity between the teaching of S. Niceta and that of S. Augustine. Both Bishops start from the difference between a Catechumen and a Competent, or accepted Candidate for Baptism. The former was only a guest and an outsider, a mere hearer without deeper understanding. The latter is in real earnest in his desire. The Church at once accords to him greater rights but demands in return higher duties. This leads to the most earnest demand which can possibly be set before men that they should utterly break with the world and him who rules it. Niceta does not content himself with general keywords, but as a true pastor of souls is individual in his ethical teaching. In his exposition of the solemn vow of renunciation, which includes, as we have seen, dabbling in magical arts, as well as abstinence from frauds and gross immoralities of the heathen world, he is stern in dealing with vanity in dress and ornaments and ostentatious hairdressing. He condemns the combing of the hair over the forehead which has received the sign of the cross. In a Rouen MS. of one of the fragments I noted an amusing marginal note: "Look out ye of the curled locks." Wiegand notes that this fashion had come in since the time of Constantine, and refers to the elaborate costume of a Christian called Maximus, dying in the 26th year of his age, represented on a tombstone in the Museum of Aquileia. Its date is contemporary with Niceta. The following passage on the Incarnation is of interest:

"Believe, then, that He who was born of a Virgin is God with us, God of the Father before the worlds,

⁵ *Texts and Studies*, viii. 4.

⁶ *Die Stellung des apostolischen Symbols im kirchlichen Leben des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 108.

Man of the Virgin for the sake of men. Incarnate in truth not by illusion, as certain mistaken heretics say, ashamed of the mystery of God, that the Incarnation of the Lord took place in appearance only, as if that which was seen was not really true, but deceived the eyes of men. May this be altogether far from the truth of God, 'for if the Incarnation is unreal, unreal will be also the salvation of men.'"

The last sentence is a quotation from the Catechetical lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem,⁷ who was also arguing against the Docetic error of a phantom Incarnation which had been revived in Niceta's day. Such heretics "blushed at the mystery of God," and they explained away the Passion so that Niceta was constrained to say again: "See that thou be not ashamed of the Passion of thy Lord."

Let us turn to S. Niceta's teaching on the Church: "After the confession of the blessed Trinity thou dost now profess that thou dost believe the Holy Catholic Church. What is the Church other than the congregation of all saints? From the beginning of the age, whether patriarchs, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, or prophets, or martyrs, or other just men, who have been, who are, who will be, are one Church, because sanctified by one faith and one manner of life, signed by one Spirit, they have been made one body; of which body Christ is asserted to be the Head, and it is written.⁸ I will speak yet more fully. Also angels, also virtues and heavenly powers are confederate in this one Church, the Apostle teaching us that *in Christ all things have been reconciled not only those which are in earth but those also which are in heaven.*⁹ Therefore in this one Church thou dost believe that thou wilt attain to the *Communion of Saints*. Know that this one Catholic Church has been founded in every region of the earth the communion of which thou must

⁷ iv. 9.

⁸ Eph. i. 22; v. 23; Col. i. 18.

⁹ Col. i. 20.

firmly retain. There are also other false-churches, but thou hast nothing in common with them, as for instance of the Manichaeans, Cataphrygians (=Montanists), Marcionists, whether other heretics or schismatics, because they now cease to be holy churches, seeing that deceived by doctrines of devils they believe otherwise, they act otherwise than Christ the Lord commanded, than the apostles have handed down."¹⁰

I may quote also the conclusion: "Since these things are so, beloved, remain in these which you have learned and have had handed down to you. Keep ever the covenant which you have made with the Lord, that is, this creed, which you profess before angels and men. The words are few indeed, but they contain all mysteries. For this short summary has been made from all the Scriptures, as precious jewels are set in a crown, in order that since many believers are ignorant of letters, or if they know, are unable to read the Scriptures hindered by their worldly occupations, if they keep these things in mind they may have enough saving knowledge."¹¹

c. 14. "Accordingly, beloved, whether ye walk or sit, or work, or sleep, or wake, let this saving confession be turned over in your hearts. Let your mind be ever in heaven, your hope in the resurrection, your longings in the promise. Let the cross of Christ and His glorious passion be set forth with confidence, and as often as the enemy tickles your mind with fear, or avarice, or lust, or anger, reply to him threateningly, saying: 'I have both renounced and I will renounce thee together with thy works and thine angels, for I have believed in God and His Son, signed with whose Spirit I have learnt no longer to fear even Death'! So shall the hand of God defend you, so shall the Holy Spirit of Christ guard your *going in from this time forth and for ever*,"¹² when meditating on Christ you

¹⁰ C. 10.

¹¹ C. 13.

¹² Ps. cxxi. 8.

have said alternately: Brethren, *whether we wake or sleep, let us live together with Christ*; to Whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

The chief work of S. Niceta as a theologian lay in the domain of Pastoral Theology. He wrote no profound treatise on doctrine which may be compared with the work of S. Hilary *On the Trinity*. His strenuous life did not leave much time for prolonged studies. But he was well read, and there is a distinction of style about his writings which was remarked on both by Gennadius and Cassiodorus. His style is simple, his appeals are direct, but he rises at times to a more fervid eloquence, as in the peroration to his "Sermon on the Creed,"¹³ or the beautiful description of the poetry of the Psalms.¹⁴ He had the pastoral instinct which he so greatly admired in S. Basil. All theory has to be tested by practice. He cared more for deeds than words: "If thou art called a Christian and art not spiritual, be not too confident of thy salvation."¹⁵ But he valued his Creed, when interpreted along Nicene lines, as "complete belief in the Trinity," as the highest motive power of a moral life.

All his teaching was brought to the test of Holy Scripture. He commended their Baptismal Creed to his converts as a summary of Scriptural teaching like a crown set with precious stones. He laid stress on the fact that the Council of Nicaea took pains to search the Scriptures. Although Niceta as a rule quotes the Latin Bible, there is one passage in which he quotes the Greek text of 2 Cor. i. 3. It is interesting to note that he quotes all the canonical books of the New Testament except Philemon, Hebrews, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. The argument from silence is proverbially dangerous, particularly when we have only a portion of an author's works to consult. But the omission of Hebrews certainly suggests that like other

¹³ P. 48.

¹⁴ P. 61.

¹⁵ *de Spiritus sancto*, iii. 22.

Western writers, he was doubtful about the Pauline authorship.¹⁶ He was loyal to the teaching of the Nicene Creed, i.e., the Creed of the Council, as expressing the truth of Scripture. Having accepted the belief that the Son is "of one substance with the Father," he did not hesitate to follow out the line of argument and teach that the Holy Spirit also is of one substance with the Father. Here he shows himself more in touch with Western theology than with Eastern, although he quotes three Eastern writers, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Basil, and S. Gregory Thaumaturgus, and only one Western, S. Cyprian.

In the West, as Duchesne has taught us, theologians cultivated the idea of Divine Unity and subordinated to it the idea of Triune Personality. Thus they regarded consubstantiality as the essence of the mystery of the Trinity, making much of the Coinherence of the Divine Persons, building on the words of our Lord: "I am in the Father and the Father in Me." (S. John xiv. 11).¹⁷ The Eastern theologians, starting from the thought of the Trinity, revealed in the work of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, taught first the doctrine of the eternal distinctions, and then sought to prove by metaphysical argument that those distinctions were united in the One Being of God. S. Niceta started from the idea of Divine Consubstantiality, claiming the right of the Holy Spirit to full veneration and worship with the Father and the Son, as of one substance, power, and eternity. He used freely the word "Person" from which S. Augustine was inclined to shrink. He argues by analogy from the mystery of the human personality to the mystery of Divine Personality. Thus he pointed in the direction in which S. Augustine, by his use of psychological illustrations, contributed so much to the development of this doctrine in the West.

¹⁶ F. C. Burkitt in my *Niceta*, pp. cxliv.—cliv. and Patin, *Niceta*, p. 70.

¹⁷ cf. xvii. 21.

He shows no sign of acquaintance with the Nicene Creed of the Liturgies, which at the Council of Chalcedon was regarded as an improved recension of the first Nicene Creed, and the work of the Council of Constantinople (381 A.D.). In this they were mistaken, as the Creed was quoted by Epiphanius some years earlier. Dr. Hort suggested that it was a revised Creed of Jerusalem, the work of S. Cyril of Jerusalem when he left the Semi-Arians and joined the party of S. Athanasius. However this may be, S. Niceta's teaching on the Holy Spirit is an independent testimony to the teaching of the revised Creed as expressing the common faith of the Church.

To speak generally, Niceta's theology followed the lines of the Creed, the Incarnation being for him the central doctrine. From S. Cyril he quoted the emphatic words: "If the Incarnation is unreal, unreal will be also the salvation of men." On the Incarnation was based his teaching on the Atonement: "For Christ suffered also for our sin that righteousness might be given unto us." He delighted to paint in vivid colours the contrasts between the successive acts of self-humiliation of the Incarnate Word from the Cradle to the Cross, and the words and works of power which revealed His Glory and culminated in the Resurrection and Ascension. The climax of the *Te Deum* is, throughout, the lodestar of his teaching, as in the triumphant peroration of the "Sermon on the Creed."

After centuries of oblivion, the message which S. Niceta brought to his own generation is not out of date. In every age such witness is needed to the truth that Christianity is more than a system of doctrine; it is a life, and the beauty of the life is the best proof of the truth of the doctrine. The history of the Arian controversy at the end of the fourth century is like a dark labyrinth; if difficult for the student of Church History to pick his way through the maze of competing formularies. To such an one the life of S. Niceta is like a short passage to light and liberty. He may go

on his way rejoicing in the freedom which S. Niceta found in the service of truth, understanding more of the joyousness which he breathed into the great "psalm of history" which was his contribution to the worship of the Church.

We understand because we believe. Nothing has been more disastrous in the history of Christian doctrine than the writing of books, and they are many, which profess to discuss impartially beliefs most sacred to the Christian consciousness without that love of Divine things which is the key of knowledge. As Pascal says: "We must love things Divine in order to know them." As well might a man who has no music in his soul attempt, after conscientious study of musical primers, to explain some great symphony, as a critic, however well informed, explain the real meaning of the Nicene Creed without reference to the lives of those whose courage and constancy in suffering for it were sustained by the conviction that it was true. Only those whose lives are lives of faith and prayer can understand the persistency with which S. Niceta contended for doctrines which some were prepared to surrender then as some are now. We do not need to apologise for our faith. In such a life it commends itself.

Nor are such lives of the past alone. Not unworthy to compare with S. Niceta in our own times was the poet bishop, Heber of Calcutta, alike in wealth of literary gifts and in enthusiasm for missionary enterprise. Heber's splendid hymn for Trinity Sunday, founded on the rhythm of the English Bible, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty," is a proof that "the goodly fellowship of the prophets" is continued in every age in those whose eyes are opened to see visions of God, and gain inspiration alike for their worship and for their work.¹⁸

¹⁸ *Niceta*, pp. cxl.—cxliii.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE TE DEUM.

It remains to discuss S. Niceta's claim to the authorship of the *Te Deum* in the light of all this information about his life and works. The internal evidence of the treatises "On Vigils," and "On the Good of Psalmody" proves that Niceta, so to speak, lived in the same sphere of religious thought. The parallels to the *Te Deum* in his writings are sufficiently close to prove that his mind often worked on these lines.¹⁹ Apart from a definite quotation we cannot expect more. The nearest approach is in the treatise "On the Divine Names": "He is called the Door because through Him an entrance into the kingdom of the heavens is opened to believers."

It is indeed difficult to resist the conclusion that his reputation according to Paulinus as a hymn writer, combined with the testimony of the MSS., which attribute to him the authorship, is a sufficient guarantee that Dom Morin's brilliant guess was correct. Bishop J. Wordsworth reminds us that "Irish texts of the Vulgate New Testament sometimes retain correct readings of the Gospels which are lost elsewhere." Ireland was so much cut off from the continent that it could easily preserve to the tenth century traditions inherited from the fifth. But as we have seen, the Irish MSS. are not alone in preserving this tradition. The evidence of the Lincoln tradition in 1552 is most important. Dom Morin has pointed out that Gennadius and Cassiodorus praise the writings of Niceta for their brevity and for the clearness and simplicity of their style. The same characteristics appear in the *Te Deum*. The effect which the whole composition conveys is felt to be strong, but this is due rather to the grandeur of the thoughts and the rapidity with which they follow each other in these few lines than to brilliancy of expression.²⁰

¹⁹ See my *Niceta*, p. ciii.

²⁰ *Rev. Bénédictine*, 1894, p. 75.

Dom Cagin, O.S.B., in his book *Te Deum ou Illatio* argued at great length against this theory. He was good enough to explain that this was not a book but a letter, a reply to a letter of mine in which I asked for some information about the ancient musical rendering of the *Te Deum*, and about its relation to the early Gallican Prefaces of the Liturgy which appear to preserve quotations from it. Unfortunately, his book did not arrive till some years after mine had been published.

Dom Cagin maintained that the hymn is itself a Preface (Illatio), an enlargement on the theme written for use in the Eucharist. Even so, and I readily acknowledge that the first stanza might have been taken directly from the Liturgy, it must have had an author. In view of the evidence of the MSS. it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the author was Niceta. There was a good deal of special pleading in Dom Cagin's argument. A trenchant reply was published by Dom Morin in the *Revue Bénédictine*, avril, 1907. I am glad to quote Prof. C. H. Turner's opinion: "So indefinitely numerous are the writings attributed to the great Latin Fathers, that experience teaches us that the title 'Ambrose,' 'Augustine,' or 'Jerome,' constitutes of itself hardly even a presumption of authenticity: but the case is different with an unknown writer and an unfamiliar name, and it may be anticipated that the ascription of the *Te Deum* to Niceta, brought into new prominence by the efforts of Dom Morin and Dr. Burn, will gradually win its way to universal acceptance."²¹ The evidence is cumulative and may at any time be supplemented by the discovery of new MSS.

²¹ J.T.S., vii., p. 215.

CHAPTER IV.

PUBLIC WORSHIP IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

WORSHIP is the natural expression of faith. Indeed, the Catholic Faith has been defined in a famous sentence as the worship of One God in Trinity.¹ We follow, therefore, the natural order when we turn from S. Niceta's writings on the faith to his instructions *On Vigils* and *On the Good of Psalmody*. The Saturday night Vigil led up to the Sunday Eucharist, but we are dependent upon conjecture as to the form of Liturgy used at that time in Dacia.

THE ADDRESSES "ON VIGILS AND THE GOOD OF PSALMODY."

In Migne's Library of the Fathers, both of these addresses are ascribed to Nicetius of Tréves, a prominent and worthy Bishop of the sixth century. But the internal evidence of both treatises in their original forms points back to the fourth century.

The original text of the address "On Vigils" has been preserved among the letters of S. Jerome. It may have come to his notice when he was living in Rome, 381—3.

The later edition which was made at least as early as the seventh century, since the earliest MS. goes back to that date, contains many alterations which were not made by the author. It was Niceta's custom to address himself often to one hearer, a method which preachers of all ages have found effective. The editor changed this form of address from the second person singular to the plural, and cut out many sentences which did not interest him. Thus he turned Niceta's gentle pleading with the scruples of old age, his appeal

¹ The Athanasian Creed, verse 3.

to an old man not to hinder the young and strong from obtaining spiritual benefit from a service for which he had not strength, into a bald suggestion that those who cannot stand should sit! He also cut out references to heathen imitations of Christian services. Dom Morin suspects that the hand of Cæsarius of Arles may be traced in three or four places.²

The original form of the address "On the Good of Psalmody" was discovered by Cardinal Tommasi, but the first transcription was published by Dom Morin in 1897 from a Vatican MS., the so-called Farfa Bible, of the eleventh or twelfth century.³ The treatise heads a series of Prologues on the Psalms. A later editor omitted the preface in which Niceta dealt with objections which had been raised to congregational singing. He also omitted a reference to an apocryphal work called *The Inquisition of Abraham*. "We ought not rashly to receive the book that is entitled *The Inquisition of Abraham*, wherein it is feigned that the very animals, springs, and elements sang, inasmuch as the book is of no credit and rests on no authority."

Dr. M. R. James conjectures, and others agree with him, that *Inquisitio Abrae* is a corruption of *Dispositio* (i.e., Testament) *Adae* (of Adam).⁴

The editor also omitted a reference to S. Elizabeth as the author of the *Magnificat*. This means that Elizabeth was the reading of the Old Latin Biblical text used by Niceta.⁵ Probably the original reading of S. Luke i. 46 was simply "and (she) said," and both "Mary" and "Elizabeth" were glosses intended to clear up the sense of a phrase which some readers or scribes found ambiguous. "The quotation of the name Elizabeth by Niceta," writes Bishop Wordsworth, "is

² Cf. my *Niceta*, p. lxxxvi.

³ *Cod. Vatic.*, 5729.

⁴ *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, S.P.C.K., p. 3.

⁵ It is found in *a b c* and Irenæus 235. "These authorities," writes Prof. Burkitt, "form a typical 'European' group, just the company with which we should expect to find Niceta in agreement."

very interesting as showing a wider diffusion of MSS. ascribing the Magnificat to S. Elizabeth than has hitherto been matter of common knowledge. But I do not think we have reason to consider that he was a particularly expert biblical critic himself, and, therefore, his personal witness does not count for much.”⁶

The question of the authorship of the Magnificat cannot be discussed here. Bishop Wordsworth and Prof. Burkitt kindly wrote notes for me, the former preferring Mary, the latter Elizabeth, as the subject of “(she) said.” I think that the chief argument is that “the glowing words” of Elizabeth’s address need some reply. As Bishop Wordsworth put it: “Could S. Mary, who answered so freely and so bravely, yet so humbly, to the angel, have been silent at such a moment when addressed by one whom she knew so well?”⁷

The order of spiritual exercises in the fourth century was very much what it had been in the days of Tertullian—psalms, lessons, prayers. During the third quarter of that century the practice of keeping the sabbath vigil before the Lord’s Day was extended to the use of daily morning and evening prayer, more particularly by men and women who devoted themselves to a strictly religious life. It was thought better to supervise their devotions in the Churches, and forms of prayer grew into fixed shapes upon which were founded the later Hour Offices. This development can be studied in the practice of Egyptian monks and in the writings of Cassian; but it was not found in Dacia in the time of Niceta, who speaks as a Bishop to his congregation, not as an Abbot to his monks. He mentions only the weekly offices of two nights in which his hearers should purify the five working days.⁸

There are two notes of time in these treatises, which require mention. Niceta quotes from a sermon⁹ by

⁶ My *Niceta*, p. clviii.

⁷ See my art. *Magnificat*, in *Hastings D.C.G.*, ii. 101.

⁸ *de vig.* 2.

⁹ The first Homily on Fasting, Migne, p. 9, 31, 104 b.

Basil of Cæsarea, whom he introduces as "one of the best of Pastors." This does not necessarily imply that he was still alive, but it is the expression of a contemporary rather than of a later writer. Again in the address "On the Good of Psalmody" he refers to the recent introduction of congregational singing. This also points to the influence of S. Basil, who in spite of opposition introduced it into Cappadocia before 375. Gregory of Nyssa tells us that the Emperor Valens, when he visited Basil's Church in 372, was impressed by the thundering chant of the psalms. In 375 Basil wrote a letter¹⁰ to the clergy of Neocæsarea defending the practice of vigils, and explaining how they varied their singing. Sometimes the whole congregation sang antiphonally, and they found that this strengthened them for meditation on the Scriptures with concentrated attention of mind and fewer wandering thoughts. Then again, they let one sing and the rest respond, mixing prayer with their praise till day dawned, when all with one mouth and one heart sang together a psalm of confession, each adding the words of penitence which suited his own need.¹¹ S. Basil spoke of this practice as extending to Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestine, Arabia, the Phœnicians, the Syrians, and dwellers by the Euphrates.

Antiphonal singing by the whole congregation began in Antioch about the year 350, when two orthodox laymen, Flavianius and Diodorus, afterwards Bishops of Antioch and Tarsus, gathered a congregation and taught them to sing hymns, in opposition to the Arian Bishop Leontius. The custom spread rapidly, but was

¹⁰ *Ep.* 207, 2, 3.

¹¹ One of the MSS. of the letter of S. Basil has in the margin: "He is speaking of the *Gloria in the highest*." There is no question that the *Gloria* was so used and the words of S. Basil apply to the character of the antiphons which were attached to the *Gloria* and were transferred to the *Te Deum*: "Vouchsafe O Lord to keep us this day without sin. O Lord, have mercy upon us." (Ps. cxxiii. 3.)

opposed by many of the Bishops. A Synod held at Laodicea in 360 decreed: "Besides the canonical psalm-singers, who climb into the gallery and sing from the book, shall none sing in the Church."

Niceta was met with the objection that S. Paul taught the Ephesians to sing and made melody in their hearts, which was interpreted to mean silently, not with the inflexions of the voice like an actor in tragedy. It is quite probable that the first attempts of congregations were painful to the ears of musicians, but this was not the point of the objectors. Niceta answered by turning upon them their own quotation with the unanswerable reply that when the Apostle says "speaking to yourselves" he must mean "with the lips and tongue." He proceeds, however, to give most sensible advice to his flock not to join in the singing, unless they can sing in tune and in time! He had no patience with the shallow conservative who objected mainly because the practice was new. He was concerned to give Scriptural authority for such singing in the familiar stories from David and Isaiah down to the watch which Paul and Silas kept in the prison at Philippi. "Those who blame are strangers from the Catholic Faith. If our people take offence pity them as indolent, sleepy, old, or weak. If infirmity and sickness hinder, the will to come must make the heart glad at home. For some the end crowns the work, others a dutiful will makes glad." Much of the address is so modern in tone that one feels no surprise at coming upon the familiar phrase of our vestry prayers, "that what we sing with our lips we may hold in our hearts." It would be strange indeed if we felt no kinship of spirit with the author of the *Te Deum* when he writes on his own subject. And we feel sympathy with him when in reply to the objection that the new custom of keeping vigils was superfluous or idle, or what is worse, indecorous, he expresses surprise that people should say such things of such simple and truly spiritual exercises.

We may presume that the form of service was something like that directed in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions. First a hymn, possibly that familiar to us in the English translation as "Hail gladdening Light" was sung while the lamps were lit. Then the deacon bade prayers for catechumens and penitents, who were dismissed, after which the deacon invited the faithful to pray.

Probably the lessons were taken, as in the Clementine Liturgy, from the Law, the Prophets, Epistles, Acts, and Gospels. In addition to the Psalms, one or more of the other Scriptural Canticles were sung. In Rome, from the sixth century, a canticle was assigned to each day of the week. In other Churches, in Milan as in the East, several canticles were sung in succession, particularly on Saturday and Sunday.

Niceta's list is as follows. He does not give the text or the first words, only the authors.

1. Moses, Exodus xv. 1.
2. Moses, Deut. xxxii. 1.
3. Hannah, 1 Sam. ii. 1.
4. Isaiah, xxvi. 9.
5. Habakkuk, iii.
6. Jonah, ii. 3.
7. Jeremiah, Lam. v. 1.
8. The Three Children, Dan. iii. 57.
9. Elizabeth, Lk. i. 46.

Mr. Mearns writes: "It is not at all clear where this selection originated. It differs from the Roman selection, and, indeed, the Roman selection does not seem to have been made as early as 400. It is nearer to the Milan selection, and in 400 Dacia stood in closer connection with Milan than Rome. Perhaps it represents the earliest Milan selection."¹² I do not agree with Mr. Mearns that Niceta stood in closer connection with Milan than Rome. He was in touch with Rome, as we have seen, but we do not know that he ever went to Milan. It is more probable that his selection was

¹² *The Canticles*, Camb. Univ. Press, p. 56.

taken over by S. Ambrose when he introduced the Eastern custom of congregational singing.¹³

I may add to Mr. Mearns' list of Milanese MSS. a Munich MS. (*Cod. lat.* 343 of the tenth century) which has the Milanese text of the *Te Deum* with a similar list of canticles to that of Niceta, omitting No. 7 Jeremiah. The selection is practically the same as that known as the Greek Nine Odes, which divided Dan. iii. 26; iii. 12, and 57—91, and in some MSS. added the Benedictus (Lk. i. 68—79). But the Nine Odes cannot be traced in use before the sixth century, never ascribed the Magnificat to Elizabeth or included a canticle from Jeremiah.

In addition to these Scriptural canticles, other hymns had come into use in Syria during the fourth century. The *Gloria in excelsis* for the morning and a hymn, *We praise Thee*, for the evening, were counted as "private psalms." To the same class belonged "Hail gladdening Light." Some such were carried westward and translated. The *Te Deum* was no doubt written for use as "a private psalm," and since it follows the lines of the *Gloria in excelsis* and was closely associated with it in the fifth century, one is tempted to conjecture that the *Gloria* was known to Niceta.

To return to the address "On Vigils." Niceta makes much of the teaching of the Lord on watchful servants, and quotes the example of the Apostles, the assembly in the house of Mary praying through the night for the deliverance of S. Peter from prison, and the long night vigil at Troas when Eutychus was overcome with sleep. "By watching all fear is struck out, confidence is born, the flesh is subdued, vices wither, love is strengthened, foolishness departs, prudence arrives, the mind is sharpened, error is crushed down, the devil, the head of wrongdoing, is wounded by the sword of the Spirit."

"Good indeed is meditation by day, but more effective by night; because during the day various needs interfere and occupations distract the mind, a

¹³ See the quotation from *S. Augustine's Confessions*, p. 69.

double care disquiets the emotions; the night is quiet, the night is mysterious, she offers herself as a fit time for prayers, as most adapted to those who keep vigils when freed from the occupations of the flesh, with emotion concentrated, she sets the whole man to contemplate things divine."

Niceta goes on to speak of the imitation of Christian rites and practices, such as fasts, baptism, vigils, and virginity, in contemporary heathen religion. We may doubt how far this is, historically speaking, an accurate statement. The study of Comparative Religion shows that pre-Christian religions had such ideals. But I do not doubt that there was constant reaction on both sides, and the value, e.g., of fasting, is always contingent on the motive with which it is practised, not as an end in itself but as a means of self-control. I think that the words of Niceta which I have quoted above of the value of the will, and the direction of the will to spiritual ends, and his constant appeal for spirituality in religion justifies his commendation of Vigils. We may suppose that he refers to contemporary imitation.

The address "On the Good of Psalmody" begins with a reference to the fulfilment of a promise to speak on this subject. "Exhortation," he says, "is fitting for the soldier when he stands on guard," and he pictures sailors singing hymns while they ply the oars. We are reminded of Paulinus' description of Niceta himself teaching the sailors to sing on his passage over the Adriatic. Niceta continues: "What will you not find in this man's (i.e., David's) Psalms which makes for the use, edifying, and comfort of the human race, of any condition, sex or age? Here the infant has milk to drink, the boy something to praise, the young man wherewithal to correct his way (Ps. cxix. 9), the youth something to follow, the older man something to pray. The woman learns modesty, orphans find a father, widows a judge, the poor a protector, strangers a guardian. Kings and judges hear something to make them afraid. A psalm comforts the sad, moderates joy,

soothes the angry, refreshes the poor, upbraids the rich man to know himself. To all everywhere that receive it a psalm supplies suitable medicines, nor does it despise the sinner, but brings to him a healthgiving remedy through tears of penitence. . . . For a psalm is sweet to hear while it is sung. It passes into the mind while it pleases. It is easily remembered when it is often repeated. And what the severity of the law could not thrust out from human minds it draws out through sweetness of melody. For all that the Law, all that the Prophets, all that the Gospels themselves have received is summed up in these songs in the pleasant sweetness of meditation."¹⁴

"God is manifested, the idols are mocked to scorn, faith is affirmed, treachery repudiated, justice is brought forward, evil-doing is restrained, pity is praised, cruelty denounced, truth sought out, lies are condemned, deceit brought to book, innocence commended, pride cut down, humility exalted. Penitence is preached, peace brought forward to be ensued, protection against enemies is demanded, vengeance is promised, a sure hope is nourished. And what is higher than all these, the mysteries of Christ are sung. For both His generation is set forth, and the rejection of the ungodly people, and the inheritance of the nations is named. The virtues of the Lord are sung, His Passion is depicted for veneration, His glorious resurrection is shown, nor is silence kept about His sitting at the right hand. Then, finally, the fiery advent of the Lord is shown, His terrible judgment concerning living and dead is opened. What more? Also the sending forth of the creative Spirit and the renewal of the earth is revealed after which there will be in the glory of the Lord an eternal reign of the righteous and continual punishment of the ungodly."¹⁵

Niceta gives practical instruction about the nature of the music to be used. "Let a tune or melody agreeable

¹⁴ C. 5.

¹⁵ C. 6.

to our holy religion be sung, not such as to express the difficult situations of stage tragedy, but to show in us true Christianity, not something that shall smack of the theatre, but something that may produce sorrow for our sins. But the voice of you all ought not to be out of tune, but in tune. Let not one without understanding lengthen (his note) and another shorten it, or one lower his voice and another raise it. But each is bidden humbly to keep his voice within the sound of the choir singing in unison, not lifting voices above the rest, or lengthening notes as if to bring them out for unseemly and foolish ostentation, nor with the wish to please men. For we ought to engage in the whole action as in the sight of God not with desire of pleasing men." An illustration follows from the story of the Benedicite sung by the three young men in the furnace as with one voice.

"Let us also, as with one mouth, utter in time (*lit.* equally) the same syllable of the psalm and the same note of the voice. For it is better that he should keep silence who cannot fit in his voice with others, or sing in a low voice rather than with noisy voice resound over all: for thus let him both fulfil the duty of his ministry and not be a hindrance to the singing brotherhood."¹⁶

"The deacon with clear voice after the manner of a herald admonishes all that whether in praying, or in kneeling down, or in singing, or in listening to lessons, all should preserve unity; for the Lord loves *men of one mind*, and as we said above, *makes them dwell in His house*."¹⁷

These words help us to picture the small congregation in the Church of S. Peter and S. Paul and All Saints, and to reconstruct the ideal of Public Worship which was kept before them.

As we have noted in the tract *On Divine Names*, mention is made of a daily celebration of the Holy

¹⁶ C. 13.

¹⁷ Ps. lxxviii. 6.

Eucharist: "He is called a Priest either because He offers His own body as an oblation and a victim to God the Father for us, or because He vouchsafes to offer by means of us day by day." The practice of the Church at this time varied. The daily Eucharist was the custom at Carthage in the days of S. Cyprian, who in his treatise on the Lord's Prayer writes: "But we pray that this bread may be given to us daily lest we who are in Christ and receive the Eucharist daily as the food of salvation, should, while we are kept away and prevented from receiving the heavenly bread through the intervention of some very grave fault, be separated from the body of Christ."

S. Athanasius, in the Alexandrian Church, only celebrated on Sundays and Fridays. But Eusebius of Cæsarea may refer to a daily Eucharist, c. 312 A.D.¹⁸

We are left in the dark as to the form of Liturgy. The only clue which Dr. Brightman was able to find was in the form of the *Sanctus* in the *Te Deum* which is not Byzantine.

In the treatise on the Holy Spirit Niceta refers to a well known form when he writes: "*One holy, assuredly the Spirit, one Lord Jesus Christ to the glory of God the Father.*" This is obviously the response to the Deacon's proclamation, "Holy things for holy people." This says Dr. Brightman is Byzantine and Syrian Greek. But he thinks that it is possible or even probable that the Gallican rite had it so it may have come into the Liturgy of Dacia.

For Niceta's teaching on the Eucharist we have only the treatise which I have published under "Doubtful works," *On the meaning of the Passover*. It has been handed down under the name of Athanasius, but may with some probability be identified with the sixth Book of Instructions to which Gennadius gave the title *On the Sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb*. A shortened form was edited in the seventh century, possibly by Martin of Bracara (?). It is found in several MSS. and we

¹⁸ *Demonstratio Evangelica*, i., 10, p. 35B.

know that he had a MS. of Niceta, as he quoted fragments in his treatise *On the correction of rustics*. The treatise begins with a quotation from Exodus xii. 2—9, 11, and a reference to the disputes about the date of Easter. Some object to our following the Jewish custom of reckoning the date by the moon, holding that it should always be kept on the 25th of March as the traditional date of the Resurrection. "The Passion of Christ is the redemption of the creature." Christ rose with the full moon of the spring equinox. By what seems to us strained reasoning from texts in Genesis the preacher supports the custom handed down that the Paschal Feast should not be celebrated before the 23rd of March nor after the 22nd of April.

The spotless male lamb of a year old represents Christ suffering wrong, who was led as a lamb to the slaughter. We ought to refer "male" not only to sex but also to strength of mind; He is "spotless" because there was no sin in Him nor was guile found in His mouth; "a year old" typifies the division of a year into four seasons and twelve months, so faith is contained in four Gospels and twelve Apostles. We are ordered to eat the flesh of this lamb as Christ says: "Unless anyone eats My flesh he has no abiding life." "Now the flesh of Christ is the word of God who (as) the Word became flesh and dwelt in us." On "the unleavened bread" he quotes S. Paul, 1 Cor. v. 7: "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us, therefore let us keep the feast, not with the leavened bread of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." The "bitter herbs" added teach us the narrow and rough way which leads to life (Matt. vii. 14). "Our loins must be girt with a girdle lest we should give way to lust. Our feet must be shod with 'the gospel of peace' (Eph. vi. 15), for we cannot consistently preach the gospel unless we clothe our goings against all injuries and sorrows with a protection of the faculty of feeling." The "staff" in our hands is the stay of discipline. We ought, therefore,

to stand on guard like men about to start forth that when the Lord calls us we may not linger.

The net result of this inquiry is disappointing. The allegorising does not appeal to us. Stress is laid on the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist, but we miss teaching on the joy of Communion. Yet the idea of feeding on Christ is not absent and the very simplicity of the faith expressed has something attractive about it. To use the Sacraments is always more important than to discuss speculative theories about them. It is useless to question whether Niceta's teaching is likely to have been on the lines of S. Ambrose rather than of S. Cyril of Jerusalem whose lectures to catechumens he quotes in another context. A little more knowledge about the Liturgy which he used would be of value as we picture him administering the Blessed Sacrament to converted gold diggers, kneeling side by side with the merchants and tradesmen of Remesiana, a soldier of the garrison side by side with a semi-civilised Getan highlander. We could then mark how the language of devotion had moulded his pastoral zeal while he satisfied them with the Bread of heaven (Ps. cv. 40). This quotation might have been in Niceta's mind when he spoke of the Psalms as "singing the Sacraments of Christ."

CHAPTER V.

ANCIENT PLAINSONG AND MODERN MUSIC.

THERE is yet much spade work to be done by research into the history of the ancient Plainsong which was the original musical rendering of the *Te Deum*.

Bishop Frere says truly : " The greater part of the ancient church music is largely an unknown language to modern musicians, and one which many neglect rather than attempt to learn. It differs from modern music in its scales, and, therefore, in its melodies, being far richer in both respects than modern music is, even with all its power of chromatics. It differs also in its conception of rhythm as widely as in its theory and melodic capacity. It was made for prose words, not for poetry ; and, therefore, in its proper form, which is not tied down to strict time or metrical uniformity : the notes, phrases and melodies are free in their time value just where modern measured music is restricted."¹

The rhythm of Gregorian chant has been clearly explained by Dom Gatard : " We have often heard people remark, ' Your melody may be pleasing enough, but it has no rhythm.' That may well be the impression felt by those who hear it for the first time. In these days rhythm and metre are generally confused, and because people do not hear the strong beat recurring at regular intervals in a melody they say, ' It has no rhythm.' But Plainsong has, nevertheless, its own rhythm, and that well marked ; and we should even go so far as to say that, in spite of superficial appearances, its rhythm is not essentially different from that of modern music. To understand this statement, which may seem paradoxical, we must go behind the external and

¹ *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (Hist. ed.), p. xxx.

artificial arrangements of some rhythmic schemes, and go to the central principle of rhythm, the soul of all music."

"The scholars of the Plainsong revival have given us two definitions of rhythm. Dom Pothier, in *Les Mélodies grégoriennes*, says: "La proportion dans les divisions constitue le rythme." That definition is true, but seems to us too general, for it applies equally well to the arts of repose, such as architecture and painting, as well as to those of motion, such as music and dancing. Other writers, noticing this deficiency and wishing to be more precise, have simply gone back to the old definition of Plato: "Rhythm is order of movement," which S. Augustine applies to music itself: "Music is the art of moving well." As a matter of fact this definition is much more exact, and brings us to the very core of the matter."

"It is not enough for movement to be continuous and uniform, as of a sound prolonged indefinitely, for it to possess rhythm. Such movement cannot be 'ordered,' for order presupposes a certain number of distinct units. The flow of sound must, therefore, be interrupted, if not by silences, at least by variations of duration and stress, or by infusions of new power."²

We may use the term Plainsong to cover the whole field of primitive Church music, and in the history of the Western Church we may distinguish between the Ambrosian, Gregorian and Mozarabic types. So far as I can learn, the ancient Ambrosian Plainsong melodies were the earliest setting of the *Te Deum*, and they, or something like them, were introduced by S. Ambrose at Milan following Eastern custom.

Mr. Burgess shows that "the earliest known method of reciting a Psalm musically was that called *Cantus responsorius*, by means of which the precentor sang the Psalm as a solo, the congregation interpolating a fixed refrain at the close of each verse."

² Dom Gatard, *Plainchant*, Faith Press, 1921, p. 9 f.

It is doubtful, however, whether this method was a continuation of the practice which had been current in the Synagogue. "In the earlier Christian times the precentor's solo passages were little more than inflected monotone, but the natural predilection of a skilled artist for vocalisation seems to have asserted itself, especially at punctuation points, and by the time of S. Augustine the music of the Psalm verses had become ornate, the older simplicity being regarded as an archaism. The congregational refrains or interjections were very brief, such phrases as *Amen* or *Alleluia*, a short text as "For his mercy endureth for ever," or the first verse of the *Gloria Patri*, being used in the manner."³

We can trace this old-fashioned style at this period in Alexandria, Carthage and Rome. S. Jerome⁴ and others who upheld the old style maintained that the words which are read rather than the voice of him who sings should please the hearers. S. Augustine had many scruples whether it was right to stir the feelings so deeply as he felt his to be stirred by the new music. There is an interesting passage in his Confessions :

"At times that mode seems to me safer, which I remember to have been often told me of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who made the reader of the psalm utter it with so slight inflexion of voice, that it was nearer speaking than singing. Yet again, when I remember the tears I shed at the Psalmody of Thy Church, in the beginning of my recovered faith; and how at this time I am moved, not with the singing, but with the things sung, when they are sung with a clear voice and modulation most suitable, I acknowledge the great use of this institution."⁵

He felt, as Batiffol says, that it was "a disquieting invasion by art of the traditional austerity of worship." It shows that it is impossible to set up an unchange-

³ Prayer Book Dict., Art. *Plainsong*, p. 539.

⁴ In Ephes. iii. 5.

⁵ Conf. x. 50.

able canon of musical taste. What S. Augustine heard at Milan, however, was something more than ornate singing by a Precentor. S. Ambrose introduced into the West another method of reciting the Psalter known as the *Cantus antiphonus*, in which the singing was done by two alternating choirs. To quote Mr. Burgess again: "Its origin has been ascribed to S. Ignatius of Antioch, but probably it began in the East about the middle of the fourth century, and speedily rivalled the competing Judaistic⁶ method of Responsorial Psalmody already described. Its chief point of divergence from the Responsorial method lay in the singing of the Psalm verses by a whole choir instead of by a single voice, and in the extension of the refrain (which had been but a congregational 'tag' in the Responsorial system) into a definite melodic formula sung by an answering body of voices."⁷ This description fits in exactly with the scheme of thought in the *Te Deum*, considered as three stanzas, each with its refrain.

I wish that some musician would make a detailed study of the ancient settings. What Mr. Birkbeck wrote as a supplement to Bishop Wordsworth's famous Article in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*,⁸ whets our appetite without satisfying it. He writes that: "One musical setting only of the *Te Deum* is to be found in the choro-liturgical books of the Western Church. Although slight differences appear in various dioceses, these are never more than mere local embellishments or variations, such as are constantly to be met with in local versions of the melody of the Preface, *Pater Noster*, and other invariable portions of the Latin services. Indeed, as Dom Pothier has pointed out in his *Mémoires Grégoriennes* (p. 238), there is a close connection between these melodies and that of the *Te Deum*."

⁶ We have noted above that it is doubtful if it is right to call this "Judaistic."

⁷ *Art. cit.*, p. 539.

⁸ *Dict. of Hymnology*, p. 1130.

It is interesting to hear that the Sarum melody for the first thirteen verses is "a natural development of the original melody," and that "its obvious connection with the Preface music would seem to indicate its very early appearance in the Western offices; for apart from the early date which the absence of a fixed dominant suggests, the melody appears in portions of the *Ambrosian* and *Mozarabic* uses, and is, therefore, clearly Pre-Gregorian."

Another melody introduced with the words "Thou art the King of Glory" is continued down to the end of verse 20, and in verse 21 is completed with a regular cadence ending upon the final of the mode, so that the old music points to the fact that the hymn ended at this point.

Bishop Frere carries us not a little further: "The music is coeval with the words, and indeed in some respects it is older than they in their present form, and reveals the history of the development of the canticle."⁹ The first section down to verse six is "freely set partly to a plastic chant-form but partly to independent music." After the Sanctus, "the second strain is resumed, being modified as the words require." The tune for the section beginning "Thou art the King of Glory" "is of the nature of a psalm tone of the fourth mode; it is natural, therefore, to find the last verse of the section set independently as an antiphon."

When the *Te Deum* took the place of the *Gloria in excelsis* in the Nocturn service (?) it found itself closely associated with a set of versicles and responses which had hitherto followed the *Gloria in excelsis*. It incorporated them, therefore, and extended its music to them. Apparently the incorporation took place in two stages (1) the first two couplets were taken over, (2) then the remaining six were taken, five of them set to the melody of the verse "Thou art the King of

⁹ Art. *Te Deum* in Grove's *Dict. of Music and Musicians*, 1910, v. 49.

Glory." Then for the sixth and last, the antiphon melody is again used.

I may add to what Mr. Birkbeck says a reference to a learned article by Dom Leclercq in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.¹⁰ He traces the connection between the ecclesiastical chant and the Græco-Roman style of music: "The Dorian mode, the most frequently used in the classical epoch and during the first three centuries of our era, preserves an honourable place in the Christian repertory. The *Te Deum* is in the Dorian mode; the Preface of the Mass appears to have had in primitive times the Dorian finale." Again our appetite is whetted but not satisfied. We must hope that when the authors of the Dictionary get to the letter T they will give us all that we desire in the Article on the *Te Deum*.

The old Plainsong is indisputably suited to the style and rhythms of the original Latin text. In the sixteenth century the English Reformers desired "to retain the ancient Plainchant for the revised service books, but in a simplified and congregational form." But they overlooked the essential difference between the Latin and English languages that the accent falls in the final Latin word of a sentence almost invariably on the last syllable but one, in the English words on the last syllable. Mr. Burgess as an ardent advocate of Plainsong seems to me to go too far when he writes about the Reformers: "The most complete and authoritative indication of their ideal of musical simplicity is to be found in the *Booke of Common Praier noted* of John Merbecke, issued in 1550. Cranmer's desire for a purely syllabic chant was doubtless the result, partly of the corrupt rendering of the ornate Plainsong melodies which had prevailed in his time, and partly of the scandalous practice which had grown up of setting liturgical texts to polyphonic compositions founded upon secular

¹⁰ iii. col. 267. Art. *Chant romain et grégorien*.

themes often profane in their associations. Nothing but a yearning for musical directness, such as would enforce rather than obscure the sense of the text could have justified Merbecke's drastic revision of the traditional melodies, which were undertaken so as to secure only one note to each syllable. But the important point is that the prevailing sense of antiquity prevailed in music as in much else, and the immemorial strains of over a thousand years were adapted to new conditions and were not abolished." I write as an historian, not a musician, but I venture to plead as a lover of music that the interpretation of sacred words by music need not be confined to one form only of musical expression. The genius of Tudor composers for polyphonic music, whatever may be said against particular adaptations of secular themes, has been marvellously re-discovered in the last half century. The settings by Tallis and Byrd are the triumphant vindication of the thesis that each generation should be allowed to give its own musical interpretation of the *Te Deum*. The argument that when a tune has once been wedded to words all the influence of association should be directed to keeping us loyal to that as the proper tune may be pressed too far. Who, it is asked, would propose to change the tune of the National Anthem? We may frankly ask is this a parallel case? Without disloyalty we may imagine the creation of a new Anthem of which both words and music should be conceived on a higher plane of inspiration. The hymn *Te Deum* stands on a higher plane and in its English Version merits the best musical interpretation. For congregational singing there is much to be said for Plainsong properly taught, yet the aversion, I do not say the prejudice, of many English people goes back I believe to the fundamental difference between the Latin and English languages. Is this invincible? We may well doubt it.

In the eloquent words of Dom Gatard: "All seems to point to a new future opening up for Gregorian

Music. Of course we shall not expect it to reign supreme and alone as in the Middle Ages: modern music has attained to a place in the Church which it does not intend to give up. Can plainchant at least hope for a seat of honour by the side of its rival? We have no hesitation in answering 'Yes,' for plainchant contains within itself all the elements of the Beautiful. The greatest musicians have not been able to resist the attractiveness of these compositions, which Halévy, though a Jew, called "the finest religious music in the world." It would be a fascinating task to analyse the works of the great masters with the object of finding out what they owe (often unconsciously) to plainchant. Have they not usually received their first education in schools where they must often have heard it and even sung it? And if they have been influenced by the liturgical melodies at a time when they were reduced to inanimate skeletons and sung without rhythm, what will it not be now that they have recovered the plenitude of their existence and the rhythm has restored them to life? Independently of its own internal merits, then, we believe that plainchant has a call to infuse a new life into religious music—we are not referring to what may be performed at sacred concerts, but to what accompanies liturgical services. In fact, it has in the highest possible degree all the factors which make for suitability in Church music: it is in structure one with the liturgical text, so much so that it loses its meaning when divorced from it; it is impersonal, and for that reason supremely appropriate for expressing the feelings of a gathering; finally, it prays, and disposes the mind to prayer, and that is not the least of its qualities. Modern music has greater power over the emotions: it can excite them to anger, or to sacrifice; it can lull them to sleep in a sort of sensual apathy. Such conditions might perhaps be favourable for the celebration of pagan mysteries; but the intimate relationship with God, of which prayer consists, requires a balance of the faculties, to establish which Gregorian chant is

eminently suited both by the austere beauty of its melodies and by the restraint of its movement."¹¹

The so-called Double or Anglican Chant is based on the new method of polyphonic music. It came into fashion after the Restoration of 1662. It has been continuously hampered by hidebound convention, and the restriction involved in measured time. But the efforts of recent editors of Psalters to introduce something like free rhythm into the singing of the Psalms are likely to be crowned with success. After all it is not so much the merit of one system of pointing over another that is so important as the living touch of a choir-master who can make his choristers feel the beauty of the meaning of the words and vary the rhythm of the music to make the accents come right.

Mr. Rockstro acknowledges that there is "an intimate connection between Plain Song and true Polyphony—which indeed was originally suggested by and owes its very existence to it."¹² With gradual progress in musical taste we may hope that Anglican chanting may either justify itself as suited to the genius of the English language or on reformed lines prepare the way for general restoration of Plainsong. I would venture to plead that in either form the experiment should be tried of changing the melody or chant in the *Te Deum* three times to mark the divisions of the original hymn at vv. 7 and 14, and the chance collection of antiphons at the end, 22—29, the history of which has been discussed above.

For special occasions I would plead that the original hymn should be sung by itself as the author left it. Chancellor Christopher Wordsworth informs me that in the Sarum use it was regarded as being itself a Response to the Ninth Lesson of Mattins and does not require a Response. But when it was used independently as an act of Praise at an Enthronement at Lincoln

¹¹ *Plainchant, Church Music Monographs*, No. 3. Faith Press. 1921, p. 64.

¹² *Art. Plainsong* in *Grove's Dict. of Music*, ii., p. 769.

and Salisbury (B.V. Mary Churches) a familiar Response (Responsorium) connected particularly with the festival of their dedications was used, at Salisbury, "Blessed Mother of God" (*Beata Dei genetrrix*), or at Lincoln, "Let us rejoice" (*Gaudeamus*), or the Dedication Response, "Citizens of the Apostles" (*Cives apostolorum*).

The Response "To the Highest Trinity (*Summae Trinitati*)" was sung at the Reception of a Prelate; "Honour, virtue, glory," (*Honor, uirtus, gloria*), for a King; "The kingdom of the world" (*Regnum mundi*), for a Queen.

The *Te Deum* sung alone was followed by lesser litany, Lord's Prayer, and the usual prayers "Save thy people" (*Saluum fac*). As the centuries passed, the *Te Deum*, the great "Psalm of History," as Bishop Westcott called it in a fine phrase, has been more and more associated with great events in the history of nations. From the ninth century it has been the custom to sing it at the Coronation of Kings and Queens, and from the early Middle Ages it was sung in Cathedrals at the enthronement of Bishops and the installation of Deans. Shakespeare refers to its use on the occasion of a victory, Henry V., act iv., sc. 8, (taken from Holinshed): "Do we holy rites: let there be sung *Non nobis* and *Te Deum*."

Handel's Dettingen *Te Deum* was composed to celebrate the victory of Dettingen. The illustrious line of English composers has provided a notable series of musical settings, among which may be noted Purcell's *Te Deum* sung for his Bicentenary at Westminster Abbey in 1895. Wesley in F, and Stanford in B flat are very different in effect but bring out new aspects of the beauty of the words. It is interesting to note how Stanford uses a plainsong theme.¹³

Among living composers I will only mention Harwood in A, Lloyd in E flat, Noble in B minor, as

¹³ As Dr. Alcock in his *Te Deum* in B flat uses the theme of *Vexilla Regis*.

appealing to me more and more; also two composers who have done me the honour of taking my theory of the three stanzas in the original hymn, working up to a climax in v. 21, and reverting to Plainsong for the concluding Antiphons, Dr. Alan Gray, Organist of Trinity College, Cambridge, *Te Deum* in A, and Dr. W. G. Alcock, Organist of Salisbury Cathedral, writing in the same key. Dr. Alcock at my request tried the experiment of separate themes for the Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs woven together for "the holy Church," and while using the Plainsong 2nd Tone for the Psalm verses at the end he goes back to the original motif for the Prayers, reverting to Plainsong for the last verse.

EPILOGUE.

The references to the *Te Deum* in English literature, and the history of its use on great national occasions, may prepare the way for a few words about its meaning. Our analysis of its structure in the three stanzas with their refrains shows the trend of the author's thought from the widest circle of thought, the praise of all creation, to the praise of the Church on earth, and, again narrowing the circle, the praise of the particular congregation. We do not claim for Niceta's hymn great originality, for the first verse may be said to be taken straight out of the Liturgy, and the second is mainly dependent on S. Cyprian. But there is an inspiration of selection in dealing with familiar thoughts and phrases, and there is no slight literary skill in the adaptation of Cyprian's metrical prose to the exigencies of the new accented prose and the happy choice of the epithet "white-robed," together with the word "army" which forms a climax.

Bishop John Wordsworth's suggestion that *numerus* (number), inexactly rendered by "fellowship" (of the prophets) was used for a "regiment," naturally leading

on to "army" is most interesting.¹⁴ These defenders of the faith led the way for the whole Church in stalwart confession of the Catholic Creed here shortly summarised. There is no reference to erroneous teaching. The Nicene term "of one essence," found necessary to cut away the Arian heresy at its root, is not introduced. We breathe the spiritual atmosphere of the teaching of S. Hilary of Poitiers, who, after all that he had suffered at the hands of Arians, maintains that the Baptismal Formula strictly interpreted was enough. How he would have rejoiced to sing—

Father of an infinite majesty,
Thy worshipful, true, only-begotten Son,
Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter.

For the keynote of Nicene teaching was "Christ is to be worshipped as by our fathers in the days of old." If so, we must acknowledge Him to be the Divine Son by nature, otherwise it were idolatry to worship Him. Let S. Hilary speak for himself: "Faith ought in silence to fulfil the commandments, worshipping the Father, reverencing with Him the Son, abounding in the Holy Ghost, but we must strain the poor resources of our language to express thoughts too great for words. The error of others compels us to err in daring to embody in human terms truths which ought to be hidden in the silent veneration of the heart."¹⁵

The third stanza with its magnificent apostrophe "Thou art the king of glory, O Christ, Thou art the eternal Son" is the most original in thought of the three, and it teaches that complete doctrine of the Incarnation on which we have seen that Niceta laid such stress. It is well to remember that Arians did not deny the Virgin Birth, though apparently Photinus in the region of the Danube had recently done so, while the great Missionary, Ulphilas, did not. And it is worth while to note the deep reverence with which a con-

¹⁴ The *Te Deum*, p. 26.

¹⁵ *de Trin.* ii. 2.

temporary writer such as S. Hilary spoke of the condescension of our Lord in submitting to a human birth.

"When Thou wast about to take man upon Thee to deliver him, Thou didst not shudder at the Virgin's womb." There lies behind this in our thought the whole tragic story of the suspicion raised in S. Joseph's mind, before he was inspired to take unto him his wife. That cloud was lifted from the horizon of the Blessed Virgin's mind, but the fear of scandal which she had to face, was no empty fear. The Fourth Gospel (viii. 41) has an echo of it in the taunt of the Jews when they are represented as saying to the Lord, "We were not born of fornication." It made necessary the publication of the witness of S. Joseph in the First Gospel, no less than the witness of the Blessed Virgin herself in the Gospel of S. Luke.

In vivid word painting the conquest of "the sting of death" which is sin, is acclaimed as "the opening of the kingdom of heaven to believers." Exalted to the glory which He had with the Father before the worlds He will come to judge, but our prayer in the day of opportunity is still that He will succour those whom He has redeemed with His precious blood, that living the life of grace here we may be dowered with the glory which all the saints shall share in the life everlasting.

When we compare the hymns of the early Church with modern hymns we notice at once a contrast, that they are all objective (as we say) in thought. They are concerned with the praises of God and thanksgiving for all His work in our creation, redemption, and sanctification. So many modern hymns, of course not all, are subjective, concerned with our own feelings and aspirations, and that often in a feeble, sentimental way which does not justify the stirring of emotion because there is no strong appeal to the will to act, to strive, to endure. The spiritual value of the *Te Deum* itself in private devotion may be gauged by the fact that a worn-out Priest in a difficult town parish once said to me: "When I cannot pray I just content myself

by saying the *Te Deum*; it contains everything." And this is the ultimate truth about it. From heart to heart across the centuries it makes an appeal to the sad to suffer and be strong no less than to the joyful whose hearts it turns to the Giver of all good. We must always remember that it is the hymn of a missionary, who has made great ventures for God, and expects great things from God, a man of literary gifts and spiritual power recognised in the great metropolis but not thrown away in the small garrison town on the frontier, because with the faith that overcomes the world he has taught the wild Bessi in the Balkan highlands to make known the sweet songs of the Cross. Always and everywhere it is the Cross that conquers.

APPENDIX I.

S. CYPRIAN.

de mortalitate c. xxvi.

Illic āpōstōlōrūm | glōrī-
ōs | ūs chōrūs (3) ||
illic prōphētārum ēxūlt-
āntiūm nūmērūs (6) ||
illic mārtyrum innūmēr |
ābīlīs pōpūlūs (6) ||
ōb cērtāminīs et pāssiōnīs
glōriām ēt uīctōriām
cōrōnātūs (9) ||

Te Deum.

Te gloriosus apóstolorum
chórus (5)
Te prophetarum laudábilis
númerus (t)
Te martyrum candidatus
laúdat exércitus (t)

APPENDIX II.

THE LATIN TEXT.

1. Te Deum laudamus te Dominum confitemur
(v),
2. Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra ueneratur (5).
3. Tibi omnes angeli tibi caeli et uniuersae
potestates (5),
4. Tibi cherubin et sera- incessabili uoce proclama-
phin. ant : (pl).
5. *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus
sabaoth (pl);*
6. *Pleni sunt caeli et terra maiestatis gloriae
 tuae (pl).*
7. Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus (5).
8. Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus (t).
9. Te martyrum candi- laudat exercitus (t).
datus
10. Te per orbem terra- sancta confitetur ecclesia :
rum (t).
11. *Patrem immensae maiestatis (5),*
12. *Venerandum tuum uerum unigenitum
Filius (t),*
13. *Sanctum quoque Paraclitum Spiritum (t).*
14. 15. Tu rex gloriae tu Patris sempiternus es
Christe Filius (t).
16. Tu ad liberandum sus- non horruisti uirginis
cepturus hominem uterum (t).
17. Tu deuicto mortis aperuisti credentibus
aculeo. regna caelorum (pl).
18. 19. Tu ad dexteram in gloria Patris iudex
Dei sedens crederis esse uenturus :
(pl).

20a. *Te ergo quaesumus tuis famulis subueni* (5).

20b. *Quos pretioso sanguine redemisti* (v).

21. *Aeterna fac cum sanctis gloria munerari* (v).

Capitellum (Ps. xxviii. 9).

22. 23. *Saluum fac populum tuum Domine et benedic hereditatem tuam, et rege eos et extolle illos usque in aeternum.*

APPENDIX III.

MSS. CONTAINING THE NAMES SISEBUT AND ABUNDIUS.

I. Sisebut the monk :

- (i.) London, Brit. Museum, Lat. 8824. From Shaftesbury, Cent. XI.
- (ii.) Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 364 from Monte Casino c. 1099 (Cagin c. 1105).
- (iii.) Monte Casino 538. Cent. XI.
- (iv.) Breviary from Monte Casino quoted by Pagi 1727, p. 572. Cent. XI.—XII.
- (v.) Psalter from Subiaco (Mon. S. Scol.). Cent. XI.
- (vi.) Rome, Ant. S. Pietro, D. 150 (XI.) from Monte Casino. Cent. XI.—XII.
- (vii.) Rome, Vallicellane E. 24, from Farfa. Cent. XI.—XII.

Sisebut the king, Rome Vat. Urbin 585, from Monte Casino. Cent. XI.

II. S. Abundius :

Naples Naz. vi. E. 43 from Benevento, c. 1097.
Rome Vat. lat. 4928 from Benevento, c. 1100.

APPENDIX IV.

S. NICETA'S PLACE IN THE CALENDAR.

A TWELFTH century MS. of the Martyrology of Ado has: Ipso die depositio Nicetae Rematianaë ciuitatis episcopi.

The Martyrologies of Usuard and Ps. Bede also mention the see (Romatiana).

Bishop J. de Grandisson, of Exeter, in his Martyrology has: Apud Nola[m] Campanie, natale beati Paulini episcopi et confessoris. Ipso die, depositio sancti Nicee Romatiane ciuitatis episcopi.

Martyrologium Romanum (Greg. XIII. Pontif. Rom. jussu editum), Venice, 1585, fol. 45, Junii 22: Apud Nola[m] Campanie urbem natalis beati Paulini episcopi et confessoris. Eodem die sancti Nicaeae Romatianaë ciuitatis episcopi; doctrina, sanctisque moribus clari.

APPENDIX V.

TESTIMONY of Cassiodorus in his treatise *On the Institution of Divine Letters*, c. 16. After referring to the lengthy and learned books of S. Hilary, S. Augustine, and S. Ambrose, he continues :

“ But if anyone desires rather to find something concise about the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, not wishing to tire himself with too much reading, let him read the book which Bishop Nicetus wrote about the Faith ; and filled with the lucidity of its celestial doctrine he will be led on to divine contemplation, its very brevity—so compréhensive is it—helping him thereto. This book was united to the volumes which the holy Ambrose sent to the Emperor Gratian. O power incalculable, by which the creator’s heavens were opened, the Holy Trinity shone forth manifested to the hearts of the faithful, and Paganism which had usurped a position that belonged to Another retreated confuted by its true Lord.”

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THE HYMN "TE DEUM" - AND ITS AUTHOR -

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